



Volume 17, Number 6

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, NY 13683

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Akwesasne
Jake Highwater
Big Mountain Updates
Indigenous Women's Network Meeting
Australia: Tasmania
Lubicon Lake/Union Oil
Indigenous People of Peruvian Amazon
Brazil: The Yanomami Indians
Pit River Land Claims: California
Gaming/Gambling on Indian Lands
Inter-American Indian Congress



Group of Guatemalans who participated in the Long Walk which started in Kahnawake and ended in Ottawa on November 12th. Here they are walking through Mohawk Territory at Akwesasne.

Photo: Cindy Terrance

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How It Is With Us

First snows upon the ground, the moon a wide, bright path across the river, bare branches of trees, two crows awaiting the dawn.

The Guatemalan support walkers entered Akwesasne a short while back on their way to Ottawa to present their protests to the Guatemalan Embassy. They feasted with our Mohawk people and told of their reasons for the walk from Montreal-Kahnawake-Akwesasne-Ottawa.

In South and Central America the genocide of Indian people continues. At Big Mountain, the forced relocation of Navajo people is to be carried out very soon. Relocation is definitely a form of cultural genocide, too.

We ask all of our readers to do everything they possibly can to support the Big Mountain struggle. Read this issue and find out what you can do. Contact your local groups, schools and communications outlets and insist that the Big Mountain story be told. Remember, it is a government/corporation removal more than anything else. Write to the Big Mountain groups listed and ask for the words of traditional Hopi and Navajo people.

Lubicon Lake, Labrador, the great North versus oil/uranium/minerals/military. A greedy government and greedier corporations continue their incursions upon Native lands. They, too, need your support.

And how is it with us? Most of our monetary resources will go into printing and mailing this issue of Notes. When the mailing is done, our staff will be forced to take a three week holiday at short pay in order for Notes to build up funds for the first issue of 1986. That year will bring Notes into the 18th year of publication.

Yes, we will be 18 years old as a Journal for Native and Natural people everywhere. Why do we continue? Because you, our readers and the many indigenous people worldwide still want and need our resource as a communications network.

Help us so that we may continue. Send a tax-deductible donation to us. Order our new and beautiful calendar, and our new poster series. Let us know that you wish us to go on.

And at winter solstice, may you be at peace.

Niawen,
Notes People



Akwesasne Freedom School

The Akwesasne Freedom School has entered its sixth year of operation with a total Mohawk Immersion Program. The teachers are developing the curriculum on a daily basis as well as teaching in class.

The work load has become so enormous that they asked the Parent Committee to shorten the school week for the students to four (4) days. This enables the teachers to plan and develop curriculum for weeks in advance.

Not to mention the low pay the teachers receive, they are also asked to work with a minimal amount of supplies to making teacher aid materials, charts and illustrations.

We are asking you, the Supporters of the Akwesasne Freedom School, to contribute the following items:

- 11 x 17 photo copy paper,
- 8 1/2 x 11 photo copy paper,
- 8 1/2 x 14 photo copy paper,
- Construction paper,
- Sketch pads,
- Garbage cans for classrooms,
- Chalk,
- Bristle Board,
- Markers,
- Contact paper (clear),
- File folders (Legal and letter size),
- Scissors

Your help in any way will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you,

Brian Skidders, Director
Akwesasne Freedom School

Address: Mohawk Nation, Box 290, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683, Tel. (518)-358-2073.



Ray and Christine Fadden celebrate their 50th Wedding Anniversary. Photo: Cindy Terrance

Ray and Christine Fadden Celebrate Their 50th Wedding Anniversary

AKWESASNE — Ray and Christine Fadden celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary on Saturday November 9th. The happy couple were the guests of honor at a harvest dinner which was held at the home of Tom and Alice Porter in Akwesasne. Ray and Christine were married on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation on October 30th, 1935.

Family and friends gathered at Tom's home for a harvest dinner at 1 p.m. Christine mentioned that marriage was like driving your car over a road filled with potholes. Having a disagreement is like hitting a pothole, you just get out of one and then you run into another one. Christine also said, "If you want to have a long happy married life, keep your mouth

shut. After you cool down, then talk about your problems. You can't solve anything when you are mad."

The Fadden's have one son, John, and three adopted children. The Fadden's left Tuscarora and came to the St. Regis Indian Reservation many years ago. They spent twenty three years at St. Regis where Ray taught school. Ray then went to Saranac Central and taught seven years there. The Fadden's built and started the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota thirty five years ago.

The Fadden's also enjoyed a beautiful wedding cake after the harvest dinner. Ernie Benedict gave an opening prayer before the meal.

Cindy Terrance

Indigenous Peoples Long Walk Held in Support of the Native People of Guatemala

AKWESASNE — Felix Attentio an Indian from Peru led the long walk Akwesasne on Friday November 8th. A group of six arrived at 2 p.m. after being met by Doug George at St. Anicet Quebec. Kanettio drove the group to a shore in Sommerville where they were met by Kelly Mitchell a Conservation Officer for the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne. In the Conservation department boat, the group were taken to Chenail near Reginald Mitchell's. The group then walked from Chenail up the Cook Road and then stopped at Josie Back's for dinner and something to quench their thirst. The group left the Back residence and then walked on to St. Regis.

Upon arrival in St. Regis the group was greeted by Assistant Chief Frank Benedict and Bear Clanmother, Harriet Boots. After enjoying another meal provided by the St. Regis Recreation cook's the group travelled by van to the Old Island School where they enjoyed a much needed rest.

On Saturday morning the group left the school at 9:30 a.m. and started to walk toward Ottawa. Happy Laughing and Dennis George walked with the group while Douglas followed in a car. After walking to Chesterville which is five miles east of Winchester (Ontario) the group was picked up and driven back to the Old Island School.

On Saturday evening, the group was greeted by Traditional Chiefs Tom Porter and Richard Powless following introductions there was a social dance hosted by local drummers and singers.

While on Cornwall Island, Harriet Boots, Irene Thompson, Madeline David and Gloria Thompson made sure the people were well fed and cared for. The walk continued on Sunday when the group walked from Chesterville to Metcalphe Ontario. After arriving in Metcalphe the group was met by a bus load of supporters who came from Montreal. The group stayed overnite at the United Presbyterian Church and rested up for the last leg of their journey.

Many more supporters met the group and then continued on their journey to Ottawa. The group walked from Metcalphe to Ottawa and on Tuesday November 12th the group of almost one hundred supporters presented a petition to the Guatemalan Embassy. The petition asked for an abrupt end to the genocidal treatment of Indians living in Guatemala.

Cindy Terrance

Kahnawake Justice System One That is Working

KAHNAWAKE — The Peacekeepers are the Law Enforcement Group on the Kahnawake Reserve. The Peacekeeping system was established in 1979 by Kahnawake Councillor Ken Kane. Kane's portfolio deals with justice and law enforcement on the Kahnawake Reserve.

Complete everyday affairs are run by the justice system and the judicial committee. The committee locally controls all of the problems residents in Kahnawake face. The court system, the Conservation Department, the Fire Department and the Peacekeepers are all under the jurisdiction of the Justice Committee. Maintenance of all programs runs smoothly without funding from the Department of Indian Affairs.

The court system handles all offenses ranging from dog bites to murder. In 1984 alone there were close to nine thousand entries in their log book. The calls included car accidents, assault charges, breaking and entering, mischief, vandalism, violations involving fire arms, lost and found bicycles, sexual assault, arson, DWI, personal injury accidents, leaving the scene of car accidents, thefts and violations of the Indian Act and by-laws of the Kahnawake Council. Also in 1984 there were 1,239 traffic tickets given out.

One of the main purposes of establishing and operating Kahnawake's court system was to generate funds. All investigations that are handled by the Peacekeepers and the police force in Kahnawake are handled by the people of Kahnawake. No one from

any outside law enforcement agency are allowed on the reservation in police matters. Outside help comes on to the reserve only when they are specifically requested to do so. The Justice Committee in Kahnawake is equal to any court system in Canada or the province of Quebec. The only non-native working with the Judicial system is a legal attorney.

The Peacekeeping system is made up of a force which includes nineteen Peacekeepers, fourteen policemen, one chief of police seven dispatchers and one secretary.

There are also three justices sitting on the court in Kahnawake. John Sharrow, a resident of Cornwall Island has been a justice for the justice system in Kahnawake for the past six years. Court convenes each Tuesday and Thursday. Arraignments are held on Tuesday with trials set for Thursday.

A new police station was constructed in Kahnawake last May at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars. The police station contains cells with television cameras which help to prevent incarcerated individuals from harming themselves. There are offices for the Chief of Police, and a secretary. There is also a spacious recreational room used by the peacekeepers and police officers for their lunch and recreational time.

The court building in Kahnawake is designed with facilities which are relevant to Kahnawake's development. More than 261,000 motorists travelled over 120 miles of roadway through Kahnawake last year. The endeavors of the Peacekeepers and the Justice system in Kahnawake have helped in keeping matters running smoothly providing exceptional law enforcement and lowering the crime rate in Kahnawake.

Cindy Terrance



Kahnawake's Chief of Police, Gary Delorande and Kahnawake's Councillor Ken Kane who organized Kahnawake's Peacekeepers and Judicial System.

Photo: Cindy Terrance



Akwesasne Mohawk children at United Nations 40th Anniversary.

Photo: Mark Narsisian



Chief Jake Swamp and children.

Photo: Mark Narsisian



Akwesasne Thunderbirds Football Team wins league championship! The Akwesasne Thunderbirds from L-R first row: Jody David, Dean Sunday, Mickey Benedict, TJ Jock. Second row: Manager Vaughn Phillips, Patrick Cook, Farron Cole, Robert Roundpoint, John LaFrance, Head Coach Vaughn Sunday. Third row: Matthew Lazore, Troy Skidders, Corey Sunday, John Boy Adams and David Sunday. Missing: Boo Boo Mitchell, Kiel Oakes, Damon Oakes & Offensive Coordinator Larry King.

Photo: Cindy Terrance



Letters from Highwater, Gregory Markopoulos.

These letters were received over the "Highwater-Markopoulos" controversy, as published in Notes 16/4, "The Golden Indian" by Hank Adams. One is from Highwater's lawyers, the other from one Gregory Markopoulos.

Gregory J. Markopoulos
Filmpodium der Stadt Zurich
Postfach 8022, Zurich Switzerland
July 20 1985

Editor in chief, Akwesasne Notes

Dear Sir,

I have read in full the article *The Golden Indian* (Akwesasne Notes 16/4 late summer 1984) by Hank Adams. Also I have seen the letter against me one of your readers.

Your readers have been gravely misinformed. I shall expect in your next issue a complete retraction which will make it clear that Mr. Adams has been mistaken in imagining any shared identity between Mr. Jamake Highwater, alias, J. Marks, and myself.

I hope this can be settled without any need for legal action.

Thank you for your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Gregory J. Markopoulos.

Post & Kellman, Attorneys at Law, 506 15th St, Suite 600, Oakland CA 94612-1499 (415) 832-6900.

Dear Publisher, editor in chief, Notes Folks:

I represent Jamake Highwater in all matters relating to your defamatory article entitled *Golden Eagle* [sic], which appears in Notes 16/4. You have done a great dishonor to your brother and tainted your reputation for professional journalism.

You have a lawful duty to refrain from publishing a malicious article, that is, one published in reckless disregard of the truth. The author Hank Adams' assertion that Mr. Markopoulos and Mr. Highwater are one and the same has no basis in truth. Akwesasne Notes has a lawful duty to verify factual allegations which it publishes. Notes not only failed to perform this obligation but did not even have the common courtesy to contact Mr. Highwater for his comments.

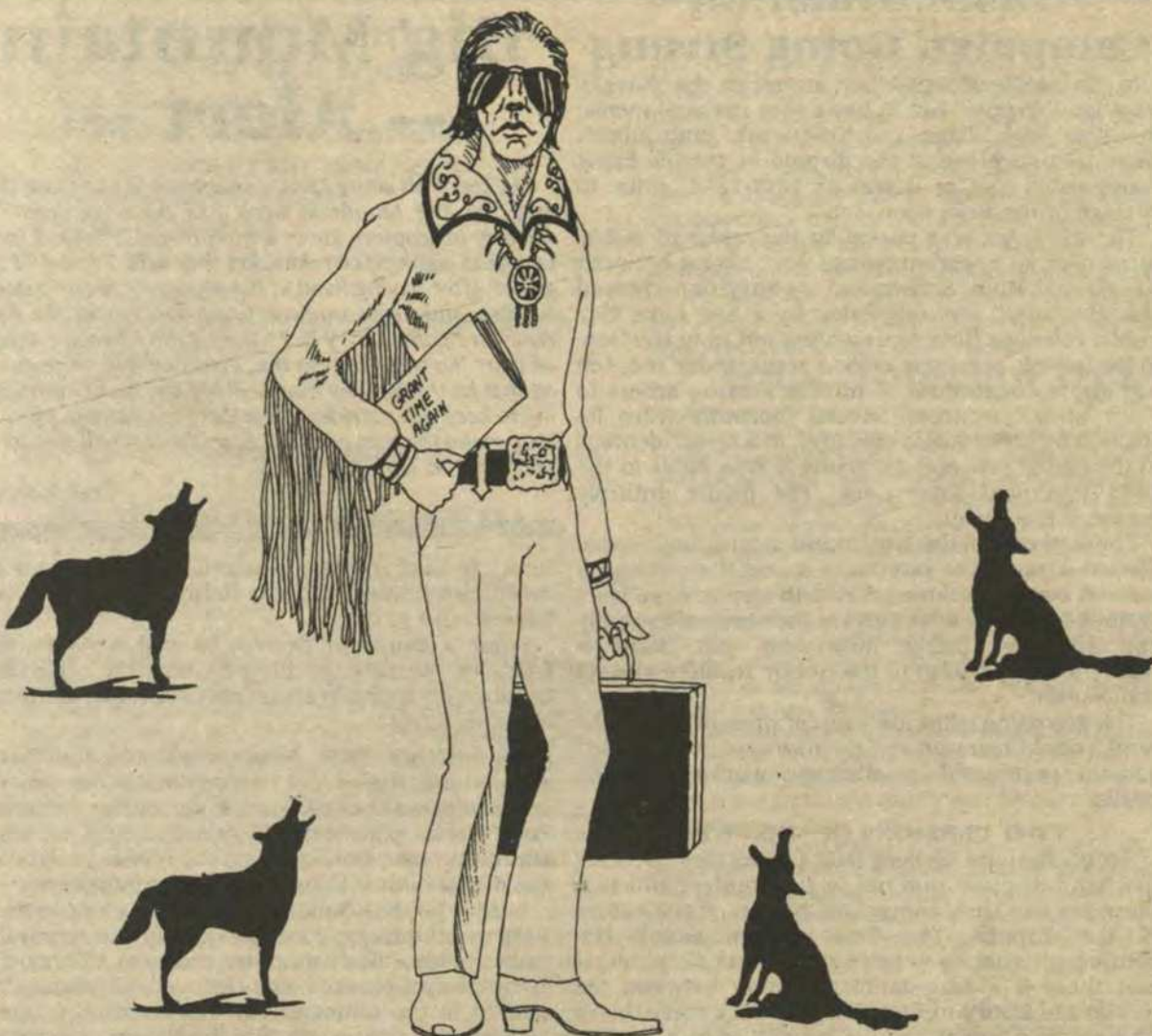
In regard to Mr. Adams' astounding assertion, we have been in contact with Charles Boultenhouse, President of the Foundation for Modern Dance, which is a sponsor of the Erick Hawkins Company. Mr. Boultenhouse knows both Gregory Markopoulos and Jamake Highwater. He has known Mr. Markopoulos for approximately 25 years and in fact appeared in one of Mr. Markopoulos' movies. He has written about him and remains in communications with him. Mr. Boultenhouse personally knows Mr. Highwater. He states that there is no conceivable basis for contending that Mr. Highwater and Mr. Markopoulos are one and the same person. He knows both of them, and they are two separate individuals. Mr. Boultenhouse advised us that he spoke to Mr. Adams and told him all of the above, but that there is no way to dissuade Mr. Adams from his fixation on the matter.

We have also spoken with Mr. Leslie Trumbull, who had received mail from Greece from Mr. Markopoulos several months ago when we were in contact. The letter and enclosed announcement concerned the annual Tremenos Film Exhibit in Lyssaraia, Greece, which Markopoulos runs every year as an exhibition of experimental films, including his own. Mr. Trumbull states that Mr. Markopoulos divides his time between Switzerland and Greece, giving the annual Tremenos Film Exhibit in Lyssaraia each spring. Mr. Trumbull has known Mr. Markopoulos since 1964, when Mr. Trumbull became the Director of Filmmakers Cooperative at the suggestion of Mr. Markopoulos. He has seen or corresponded with with Markopoulos ever since. Mr. Trumbull states that Markopoulos is not Highwater and there could be no confusion as to that fact—they neither look alike nor sound alike.

We are also in contact with Jonas Mekas, a well-known film critic (Village Voice, Soho News) and long-time Director of the Anthology Films Archives in New York City. He has known Gregory Markopoulos for 30 years. He last saw Mr. Markopoulos approximately 5 years ago. He personally knows Mr. Highwater. He states that they are definitely not the same individual. There is absolutely no question about this. Mr. Mekas told Mr. Adams that there is no relationship between Mr. Markopoulos and Mr. Highwater. Once again, this first-hand information was ignored by Mr. Adams.

If you wish to contact Mr. Boultenhouse, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Mekas, or Mr. Markopoulos directly, please contact Mr. Highwater's local counsel, Jonathan Lubell, of Cohn, Glickstein, Lurie, Ostrin, Lubell & Lubell, 1370 Ave of the Americas, NY, NY 10019 (212) 757-4000 for their address.

Mr. Highwater is adopted and is not an individual who spent his boyhood years with his natural parents in Toldeo. He did not grow up in the State of Ohio. While some particular facts in Mr. Adams' article are not in dispute (e.g. that Mr. Highwater performed as J Marks in San Francisco some 20 to 30 years ago), his basic premise that Mr. Markopoulos and Mr. Highwater are one and the same is incorrect. Mr. Adams only alleged proof, that 1962 photos of Markopoulos "were identified this year (1984) by San Francisco residents as 'almost certainly' the dancer J Marks..." that they knew some 20 years ago, is not evidence at all. If, in fact, such San Francisco residents exist, a 20 year old memory of Mr. Highwater's (Marks) face is highly suspect, even to the most naive layperson, let alone an individual who holds himself out as a journalist or a newspaper with Akwesasne Notes reputation. Mr. Adams does not disclose any credible evidence that they are one and the same individual because such evidence does not and could not possibly exist.



You have done harm to Mr. Highwater's reputation. You have injured him professionally, spiritually and emotionally. We demand an immediate retraction. We demand an immediate apology. It is rumoured that Mr. Adams proposes a Part Two of his fairy tale; we demand that you do not publish it.

Although, at this time, Mr. Highwater is not considering pitting Indian against Indian in the white man's court, I will urge him to do so if our demands are not met. I look forward to your response by return mail and hope that this matter can be settled amicably. Mr. Highwater's offer to settle this matter and lay it to rest is made to Akwesasne Notes only, and not to the author.

Very truly yours,
(signed) Leonard Post.

'Dead Horses and Dog Soldiers'

NOTES still stands by Hank Adams' research linking Gregory Markopoulos to J Marks, and thereby Jamake Highwater. Although the evidence seems coincidental to Highwater's supporters, there are too many coincidences that bring us to the conclusion there is a relationship between Highwater-Marks-Markopoulos. Mr. Adams has devoted much time to his research, yet we all agree that the issue is very divisive in Indian Country, that while it is important, there are many more pressing issues in Indian Country and throughout the world concerning Indigenous people.

Mr. Adams has discovered patterns of behavior between these three identities that can not be ignored; one element is the legal threats and the turning of Markopoulos' critics into his friends and allies. Shared friends, tactics, philosophy, timing of the disappearance and appearance of each successive identity, all fall together, as does the coincidence of Highwater's offices in Zurich and Istanbul. Markopoulos disappeared from the scene as Marks appeared, and we are led to believe that Markopoulos has become a hermit and views only his films (and other experimental films) at a film festival "everyone" hears of, but no one has been there or knows exactly where it is, or how to get there. The dissolve of Marks into Highwater may look like a coincidence, but it fits the patterns and tactics.

To NOTES, the issue is not what Highwater claims to be, but that there is misrepresentation on Highwater's part and the charge of shoddy professionalism can be made against Highwater's own research on Native people. In the creation of Highwater's persona, he has come across many such instances of people purporting to be Indian, or being Indian to a small blood degree and taking on the spokesperson role, usually by the media who are quick to publicize Indian stories from those who have a quick access to the media by virtue of their being articulate in the ways of the White society, not Native society. The professionalism of Journalism and Media has always been called to account by Ad-

vocacy Publications such as NOTES, as we see their only goals as perpetuation of their ratings, jobs, positions...true professionalism or careerism, with no thought of ultimate responsibility.

NOTES has not printed Part Two, as the other editors feel it is not necessary to "kick a dead-horse" and we have higher priorities. In Indian Country, the posturing and insinuation of Highwater into a spokesperson and receiver of federal funds for Native people and their issues and concerns, is the real problem, but just more of the same old story. Native people have been speaking out for years, but why is it that this one man has been able to arrange his ascendancy within the close-knit circle of cultural and financial powers, so eager for sales of more generic Indian books and the legitimization of their hand-picked Indian spokesperson is only "facts" that Highwater hands them, and that has changed in the past and is still being altered today. A man who alters his past this way, has something to hide and provides more evidence to the pattern of changing of identities.

The issue has passed from our hands, it is now with Mr. Adams and Mr. Highwater. NOTES has done its part in questioning the legitimacy of this Indian spokesperson, and we all await the outcome of evidence on both sides. As advocates for Native people, we must stand up to misrepresentation and cultural exploitation, by both natives and non-natives. In Indian Country, a person's reputation does not lay with books and money and what non-Native people think; Indians are fighters and are accountable to their own people, their own culture, their own land. Highwater is not acting like a Dog Soldier who will fight, and walk among his "people" with pride. Should Highwater somehow win this fight, his position will be secured, at least with those that count with him, his publishers and financial backers. His victory is assured if he is innocent.

There is no accountability for such cultural colonialism by any who wish to speak for all Indian people and receive funds (often federal taxes) for this. There is a cultural elite that also mirrors the political elite in its hierarchy, and a philosophy/ideology, where one can change culture and thereby the world with an activism and program understood only by its programmers, and in creating a new order are assured Professional Power. While this avant-gardism and egoism may prove positive in certain areas concerning their own societies, Native people are once again being used in negative ways, without input or accountability or return. The philosophies and works of Markopoulos-Marks-Highwater need to be investigated by all concerned people to see from what "country and culture and society" they emanate from and from where they do not.

Disinformation Campaign Going Strong

In the middle of September, stories on the "Navajo-Hopi land dispute" ran in two major national media; the New York Times and Newsweek. Both stories show that coverage of the dispute in 1985 is being manipulated just as it was in 1973-1974, prior to passage of the Relocation Act.

The 1974 Act was passed in the midst of public furor over an apparent "range war" raging between Navajo and Hopi. Subsequent investigation showed that the "war" was fabricated by a Salt Lake City public relations firm representing not only the Hopi Tribe (which gains one million acres under the Act) but also a consortium of utilities seeking access to Black Mesa resources. Several incidents were instigated by hired Anglo cowboys, in a tactic identical to the use of provocateur goons at Pine Ridge in the 1973 Wounded Knee siege. The media dutifully reported the drama.

The authors of the two recent stories both spent several days on the reservations, and their integrity has not been questioned. Yet both stories have been groomed in a way which serves the needs of Peabody and sabotages public awareness that there is substantial opposition to the Act by traditional Hopi and Navajo.

The grooming takes place under pressure from the Hopi Tribal Chairman and his attorneys, and is often actually performed by attorneys working for the media.

TWO VERSIONS OF "DISPUTE"

To understand choices facing reporters covering the "land dispute" one has to first understand that there are two basic competing theories of the nature of the dispute. The first version, which has dominated most coverage for the past 12 years, is that there is a long-standing dispute between the Navajo and Hopi people which goes back more than a century, and which results from Navajo crowding onto Hopi lands.

The second version of the dispute attributes the 1974 Relocation Act to economic interests seeking to resolve legal ownership to the Black Mesa so they could lease the coal, clear the land in order to mine the coal, and otherwise develop the Southwest power complex. This version focuses on Peabody, the Central Arizona Project, the B.I.A. and the elite faction of Indian "progressives" who run Tribal affairs as the key actors. This version also assumes some dispute between Indians, in this case within each Tribe between traditionals and progressives. The split is seen as aggravated by corporate pressures.

While these alternative realities are not completely mutually exclusive, choice of one over the other does determine "what can be done" about the current impasse, which may culminate in a massive Indian removal next Summer.

The first version ("Navajo-Hopi dispute") works best for the energy companies and the pro-development Hopi Tribal Council, while the second version ("coal versus the traditionals") challenges the legitimacy of the partition and removal. The Act was passed based on the first theory.

Main features of the Times and Newsweek coverage:

1. Coal and energy companies are not mentioned even once.
2. Both recount historical problems between the Navajo and Hopi people.
3. The U.S. government is a not a party to the dispute, and mainly wants to see it resolved.
4. Destruction of traditional culture, at least that of the Navajo, is portrayed as an unfortunate side-effect of settlement of the "dispute".

PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

U.S. intelligence manuals for "psychological operations" describe in detail basic techniques for effective propaganda. Such operations were used intensively in Chile in the early 1970s to destabilize the Allende government. (Several critics have characterized the relocation program as an effort to destabilize and overturn the traditional culture and economy of the Southwest.)

A fundamental propaganda technique is the intentional blurring of the roles of key actors, by either leaving them unmentioned, or characterizing them vaguely and attributing little or no role or motivation to them.

The cast, though not necessarily the roles, of potential characters in this Southwest drama is known to any reporter who makes even a cursory survey of the dispute: Navajo and Hopi, Tribal chairmen, traditionals and progressives, coal companies, power companies, Department of Interior,

Big Mountain — Alert —

I talked with some Dine a couple weeks ago and they said the Big Mountain area has been "buzzed" by military helicopters about a month ago. It caused some people to sign up for relocation they said. From all I can gather after having lived at Big Mountain for an extended time and being in close touch there, that the Feds really are going to try it. I asked Bahe when we should all start the migration in that direction and he responded that he thinks they may seal off the roads in the spring to keep out outsiders. But there are ways in there. If they make the move with U.S. military it will give us all plenty to do next summer.

Bill Koethke

B.I.A., federal courts, president. Specific names are easily determined such as John Boyden, Harrison Loesch, and so on.

When a journalist decides to omit certain actors from the portrayal of the situation, the reporter is making an important and exact decision as to the role of those actors.

For instance, both **Newsweek** and the **Times** decided that the role of Peabody and other minerals companies was not relevant to the current situation. Both stories place only Navajo and Hopi on stage. Given that cast, how else can the reader understand the dispute other than Hopi against Navajo?

Even when the **Newsweek** story sympathetically portrays the tragic consequences of the removal, it does not give the reader any choice at all regarding "why" the people are being removed, nor about alternatives to the removal. The story's initial frame of reference is a description of the Navajo as "surrounding" the Hopi with their "ubiquitous sheep" so that they "dominate the land", so that finally "the Hopis complained". **Newsweek's** prognosis is that "Indians will surely battle each other unless Washington can help them find a peaceful settlement."

Newsweek's "frame" is identical to the portrayal written in the early 1970's by Evans and Associates on behalf of the Hopi Chairman for distribution to customers of WEST, the consortium of utilities and energy companies. It is the only frame **Newsweek** will allow on the news stands. It contrasts drastically with the Hopi and Navajo traditionals own version of their mutual history.

WHITE JOURNALISM?

What can be concluded when all the white corporate actors are left unmentioned? Is there more going on here than simply the fear of libel suits? Are the Indians once more being studied by white experts? Are the victims being blamed again? Why won't the white media take a hard look at the racial dimension of the dispute?

INVISIBLE TRADITIONALS

The **Times** reporter claims he attempted to investigate the "alleged" split between Hopi traditionals and their Tribal Chairman. He has also admitted, however, that he permitted a Hopi Tribal official to select the traditionals whom he interviewed. Thus he wrote a story which acknowledged the existence of "the traditionals", but let a Mormon from First Mesa be their voice, a voice directly contradicting the repeated public proclamations of the religious and traditional leadership at Second and Third Mesas.

INVISIBLE COMPANIES

Several serious studies and investigations of the minerals companies' domination of Southwestern Indian Affairs have been published [Cahn, 1969, 1982; Josephy, 1972; Parnitch, 1974; Indian Law Resources Center, 1979; Clemmer, 1978 and 1981; Churchill and LaDuke, 1985; Redhouse, 1985]. But, of these only the 1974 Parnitch investigation ran in the national media, buried in Section C of the **Washington Post**.

The pro-removal version of reality is playing all over town because the pro-removal interests are firmly entrenched in positions that control the information and its framing. Representing the Hopi Tribe and the Relocation Commission (a U.S. agency) on the p.r. front are John Paul Kennedy and Harrison Loesch, respectively. Both have well documented "past" connections to Peabody, Kerr-McGee, Fluor, Bechtel, the B.I.A.

NAVAJO TRIBE HAS NO STRATEGY

On the anti-removal side the Navajo facing removal have hardly any resources to support information dissemination. The Navajo Tribe itself has no discer-

nible p.r. posture or strategy, or even an understanding of how it is losing the propaganda war which is presently in high gear. As in the early 1970s there is almost no comparison between the p.r. efforts of the Tribes. The "small" Hopi Tribe is geared for action and is miles ahead of Navajo Chairman Peterson Zah.

The question remains as to why the minerals and energy companies are invisible in the national media. Fear of lawsuits is one reason, and several reporters have indicated an aversion to conspiracy theories. Confronted with documentation, congressional rosters and testimony, showing the roles of Peabody, WEST and others, the reporters often respond "that's just business. That's legal," and thus not newsworthy.

GENOCIDE AS USUAL

An atrocity equal to the massive Indian removals of the 1830s is occurring in 20th century America, and the press has at first ignored it, then lamented it, and finally dismissed it as business as usual.



Threat of U.S. Troops Remains

"Eviction of those Navajo could be enforced by U.S. marshalls and the U.S. military" — Richard Morris, speaking for the President of May 29 at Hotevilla. He also noted that the President hoped to avoid "this kind of confrontation."

With the collapse in August of the Reagan attempt at a negotiated settlement, the July 8, 1986 deadline is now less than 10 months away. The President's intervention was necessitated by two facts: thousands of Navajo have refused to leave their homelands, while several thousand more who tried to relocate have failed and want to return to their homes.

Nevertheless P.L. 93-531, and the Hopi Chairman, require that the 1500 square mile "Hopi Partitioned Lands" be cleared by next July.

Big Mountain has been the focus of much media coverage, but, as Navajo Chairman Zah noted, "there are many Big Mountains. There are many people at Teesto, Tonalea, and all around the Joint Use Area who won't move."

Estimates of magnitude of the resistance vary widely, from the Hopi Tribe's low estimates of 65-100 families, upwards to the 2000-3000 families who have told the Relocation Commission they still claim the JUA as home. The Navajo Tribe says there are 1776 families (nearly 8,000 people) remaining to be relocated.

The difference in estimates reflect the various agencies disagreement over "permanent occupancy" and over who is subject to the Act. Regardless of these differing statistics, all observers agree there is a resistance mobilizing.

Proposals by some congresspeople to resolve the current dilemma by "extending" the relocation deadline ignore the depth of the people's commitment to remaining on the land. The people's position has not changed over the past 12 years. Nor do they indicate any receptiveness to "rental" proposals.

Asked about the threat of U.S. troops, many of the Elder women say they have faced soldiers before, and they have always survived.

Most bureaucratic discussion ignores indications that the traditional ways are not withering away among these people, but rather are undergoing a resurgence. Ceremonial life is strong, and this support of the Navajo and Hopi, drew more than a thousand people.

While many government officials indicate a distaste for forcible removal, P.L. 93-531 remains. "The law is the law", as Hopi Chairman Sidney says.

There are persistent rumors among the people on the land that the National Guard is being trained specifically for the pending removal. Nationwide an "Emergency Response Network to Stop Indian Removals" is organizing to mobilize a non-Indian presence on the land in order to assure that no violence is directed at residents of the JUA.

Big Mountain: WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED

The original blot on America history is the treatment our country has given the Native American Nations. In burning our way across the continent we denied their culture and their way of life, we repeatedly lied to them and we have never kept our promises.

Partly because of the enormity of the reality of what we have done, most Americans are ignorant of or numb to the ongoing reality of mistreatment of Indians. Most do not realize that 1986 is the final date for the largest mandatory relocation of civilians by the U.S. government since the Japanese internment in World War II. This forced relocation of Navajos at Big Mountain and the Joint Use in Arizona is a clear case of U.S. intervention, racism, and neo-colonialism. At the heart of the bureaucratic nightmare of the U.S. is the Navajo clarity that they belong to the land. In the words of Roberta Blackgoat, quoted recently in the *New York Times*, "No matter what they are going to do, we are going to stay."

What has been widely publicized as a "tribal dispute" between Hopi and Navajo nations is, upon closer examination, a way for the government to acquire the uranium under the land and for the energy companies to gut the rich coal reserves. In spite of the workings of the neo-colonial tribal councils, the traditional elders of both Hopi and Navajo nations have issued joint statements declaring their desire to work out their land issues themselves. As they point out, their tribes have existed together peacefully for hundreds of years.

It is our conviction that a well-organized, non-violent, and interfaith presence at Big Mountain from March through July 1986 could make a difference in what the U.S. government attempts in the way of relocation. It is also our conviction that progressive persons and organizations need to work for the rights of Indian people. This will happen most profoundly if true intercultural dialogue has occurred and people have moved beyond guilt to a positive vision of making a difference.

Our goal is to create an informed and mobilized nationwide network of people who will oppose in a variety of nonviolent ways the forced relocation of the Navajo Nation at Big Mountain and who will continue to work with the Indians to secure their land and their religious freedom. This network will be shaped from local chapters of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), the nationwide contacts of the International Indian Treaty Council, the Big Mountain Support Group, the Dennis Banks Defense Committee and the American Indian Movement. We are working in concert with the Big Mountain Legal Defense Committee and the Elders of the Navajo and Hopi Tribes. We expect to tap into the loose federation of nonviolent activists who have committed themselves to ending the proliferation of nuclear technology which begins with uranium mining and to opposing U.S. intervention.

The project timeline runs from September 1985 through July 1986. Three of the project's five companies are already beginning and will run through the eleven months. These are:

PUBLIC EDUCATION: Using the powerful audio-visuals which are available on the situation, we are going out to churches, synagogues, community groups, and businesses across the country.

CONGRESSIONAL WORK: CALC's 20 year history in place all over the country is a great help in pressuring Congress to amend or repeal the Relocation Act of 1974. There are solid government reports and new evidence which point to the injustice and difficulty as well as the enormous expense of relocation.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNITY BUILDING: Civil rights veteran Anne Braden has pointed out, "In a multiracial and racist society such as ours, no all white or white dominated effort can hope to bring about fundamental social change." Believing this, CALC has struggled for five years to become part of a multi-racial movement. This project is part of that struggle. We will make intercultural dialogue and understanding a part of every piece of the work. A group of CALC organizers will go to Big Mountain in December to meet with the Elders. Because the forced relocation of 9,525 people in this case amounts to cultural genocide, the role of culture is particularly important.

In January we will begin conducting 10 trainings in locations across the country.

TRAININGS: We hope to conduct trainings in Atlanta, Amarillo/Lubbock, Las Vegas, Lane County

BIG MOUNTAIN ACTION LIST

To Support the legal work:

**Big Mountain Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
124 N. San Francisco No.B
Flagstaff, AZ 86001
(602) 774-6923**

Donations of food, clothing, tools, etc. for the people:

**BIG MOUNTAIN SURVIVAL CAMP
c/o Kee Shay
P.O. Box 203
Oraibi AZ 86039**

For general information and to get involved:

**Big Mountain Support Group
1412 Cypress St.
Berkeley CA 94703
(415) 841-6500**

(Oregon), Minneapolis, Nebraska, San Francisco, South Dakota, Robeson County (North Carolina), and Southern California. These are likely places for CALC chapters to host, but we do not preclude trainings happenings elsewhere. The trainings will cover the history of the Big Mountain/Joint Use Area situation. We will particularly focus on the role of racism and colonialism and outline the necessary connections between the Indian struggle for land the government's addiction to uranium. Getting beyond guilt, we will lift up the role of personal responsibility to act in a complex time. People will be trained in classic nonviolence for a situation where both sides are likely to resort to violence. The importance of sophisticated work with the media will be covered as well as the hardships and culture shock of being at Big Mountain.

Our goal for the trainings is 20 people at each, roughly half of whom will actually go to Big Mountain for a week, while the others do media and support work at home. All will attend the training from Friday night until Sunday afternoon, although the groups will be subdivided where appropriate. Participants will pay a registration fee to cover overhead and written materials.

The training teams will be multiracial with Indians included in every case. Trainers from the American Indian Movement, the Dennis Banks Defense Committee, the Ecumenical Peace Institute, the Big Mountain Support Group, the International Indian Treaty Council, the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense office, and the Third World Caucus of CALC are committed to making these trainings a success. Dennis Banks has made Big Mountain a number one priority for his work.

NONVIOLENT PRESENCE: The Relocation Act states that relocation will be completed by July 1986. Richard Norris, speaking for the President on May 29 at Hotevilla said "Eviction of those Navajo could be enforced by U.S. marshalls and the U.S. military." President Reagan has said that this will not be another Wounded Knee, that the relocation will be completed in 30 minutes. Angry young Indians, feeling their spiritual heritage and fearing for its survival are heeding the call of their Navajo grandmothers and gatherings at Big Mountain. The Army Corps of Engineers is conducting studies of the water, the lifeline of the community. Desert-type military equipment is arriving in larger loads on trains. The National Guard is already present. The whole world is not yet watching.

It is into these tensions and at this time that we propose to send teams of 10 trained people for a week. They will convene in Flagstaff, Arizona and be given updates and briefings. They will be taken to the homes of traditional people and will be prepared to work in whatever manner is requested. Individuals will also be prepared to take nonviolent action if any relocation is attempted. Back at home, co-workers will be educating the public and informing the media as events happen. Team members will be committed to further public education and telling of their stories when they return.

An evaluation of the project will be completed by each person taking the training. Evaluations of the time at Big Mountain/JUA will also be completed. The final evaluation will be completed at the CALC National Assembly in Berkeley July 19-22, 1986.

We have all heard the words of Red Cloud: "The white man made many promises to us but never kept but one: They promised to take our land and they took it." The Navajo belonged to the land long before

the land belonged to either Navajo or Hopi by Anglo law. Our hope is that people will awaken to realize it is not too late to give the Indians the most precious gift we can give them — our solidarity in their struggle to retain their sacred homeland. Hopi elder Thomas Banyacya tells us that in the Hopi Prophecy there is a ring around the Sacred Mountains. In making ourselves part of that ring we are disarming the heart of nuclear technology by keeping the uranium in the ground. We are preventing state terrorism at home. And we are enriching our own lives through knowing a people whose lives are a wealth of simple and profound beauty and wisdom.

How You Can Help

Dear Friends and Supporters,

Many people have written to the office asking what they can do to help the traditional Navajo and Hopi people in their resistance to forced relocation. We are currently asking supporters to focus their efforts on spreading the news about the issue and on writing to and educating their legislators about Public Law 93-531.

Following are some suggestions of ways that you can help us: **Media Outreach:** Call or write your local media (newspapers, radio, TV) and ask them to cover this story; send them information and send them our address letting them know that we can help them to contact traditional Navajo people involved in the resistance to relocation, families that have been relocated, and our lawyers, Lew Gurwitz and Lee Phillips. Also send us the addresses of media you have contacted.

Advise them that this is an issue of historic and National importance and that the taxpayers footing the bill for relocation deserve to be informed about it. Give them some idea of the complexity of the issue and ask them to cover it with the depth and sensitivity it warrants.

We are asking our Support Groups to designate a media contact person who can take responsibility for media outreach, and keep us posted on local media coverage. The cassette tape available (see below) can be lent to radio stations. (Non-commercial and College stations may be the most receptive.) Also, live or taped interviews with our lawyers and relocatees can be arranged through this office.

Community Outreach: Reprint, post and pass along any information you have about the relocation situation. Contact Human Rights, Environmental, and other activist groups in your area (Peace, Anti-nuclear, Gray Panthers, etc.) Educate them about the relocation issue and ask for their support and outreach to members. The Flagstaff BMLD/OC office can send you information geared to the specific issues of concern to such groups.

We have several educational resources (listed below) available through our Support Groups. These can be presented to specific groups, shown at Schools, Community Centers, or in people's homes. The slideshow has been a great inspiration for letter writing potlucks; the tape and video, likewise, can be used for inspiring action as well as for education.

Fundraising: Funds are always needed at BMLD/OC. We must pay rent and phone bills as well as covering the costs of office supplies, photocopying, mailing, legal work and research. The office is staffed entirely by volunteers. We appreciate any and all donations we receive.

Some Support Groups have raised funds by charging a small donation at slideshows and films, and by asking for further donations at these events. Others have bought rugs, made by the women of Big Mountain area and raised funds by raffling them off. Arrangements for purchasing rugs can be made through this office.

Needless to say, all donations, however large or small, are sorely needed and greatly appreciated.

Resource Materials

BOOKLET:

"**NAVAJO RESIST FORCED RELOCATION**" provides a thoughtful and insightful history of the encroachment of white society and the impact of this encroachment on the Hopi/Navajo community. Contains detailed information about why 10,000 Navajos are being relocated, the effects of relocation, and the resistance to it. Available from Berkeley BMSG 1412 Cypress St./Berkeley, CA. 94703 (415) 841-6500.

CASSETTE TAPE:

"**MONSTER IN DINETAH**", recorded in 1982, is a 30 min. documentary in which the Dine people describe the monster which threatens them, and the legends which foretold of their struggle. Their clarity and resolve are sheer poetry.

"**UPROOTING OF THE NAVAJO**", recorded at the April 1984 Survival Gathering, is a 28 min. documentary which provides a general background of the situation, the plight of the relocatees, and the threat to Mother Earth in the words of the people and the attorneys from the Legal Defense Committee.

Both tapes are available on one 60 min. cassette from the Berkeley BMSG, 1412 Cypress St./Berkeley, CA. 94703 (415) 841-6500.

BIG MOUNTAIN NEWS: The 8 page newspaper produced quarterly by the Berkeley BMSG contains extensive coverage of the legal, legislative and environmental issues of relocation. Each copy also contains testimony from the elders. Berkeley BMSG/1412 Cypress St. Berkeley, CA. 94703 (415) 841-6500.

Berkeley BMSG/1412 Cypress St. Berkeley, CA. 94703 (415) 841-6500.

SLIDE SHOW:

"**IN DEFENSE OF SACRED LAND**", a 30 min. slide show with music track and narration, offers a close-up look at an explosive situation featuring the peoples' acts of resistance to preserve their threatened traditional culture at Big Mountain and the complex reasons behind relocation. 160 slides. Available from Pelican Lee/Rt 4, Box 17 C/Santa Fe, NM 87501 or BMLD/OC, 124 N. San Francisco St. No.B/Flagstaff, AZ. 86001 (602) 744-6923.

BMLD/OC, 124 N. San Francisco St. No.B/Flagstaff, AZ. 86001 (602) 744-6923.

(Continued on page 26)

A few proceedings... As we mentioned in the last issue of NOTES, the Indigenous Womens Network meeting was held at Yelm Washington, at the turn of August into September this year. Around 200 women from North, Central America and the Pacific came to the meeting. Each day, we had a series of "Talking Circles", on different subjects. In these circles, one or two women would facilitate, and everyone else would join in at different times to share some thoughts. These "Talking Circles" focused on 'The Women', 'The Family', 'The Community', and 'The World', in sort of 'concentric circles' that build upon each other. We wanted to look at our discussions in this way - to bring closer the dynamics between these different concerns, and to also bring out the issues people are working on. What follows here are some words, presentations, quotes, and photographs from the meeting.

I. FINDING OUR SPIRITUAL BASIS

Living life and coping with new things, stresses and problems is different for every generation. Despite this truth, the fact of our Indian-ness does not change. It is our heritage, it is in our blood. Whether we have a religious practice or not our Indian-ness prevails. Whether we follow the path of the longhouse or a modern religious practice our Indian-ness will emerge. It manifests in our daily lives. It is transmitted from our inner soul through dreams and sometimes it is revealed in conflicts in our lives. This can be frightening, but it should not be. It is the inner feeling of our inherent Indian-ness, our connection with Mother Earth emerging. It is something which is difficult to explain. It is something that we need to reflect upon as we live from day to day.

When we walk a spiritual path we assume the responsibility of protecting and nurturing life on a global scale. Although the basic unit is the individual, the spiritual path extends naturally to the family, the community, the nation and the universe. Once we have a spiritual basis we stop reacting out of anger and become motivated by our love and respect for ourselves, our land and other sentient beings and spirits. When we acknowledge and accept our calling to act as guardians of the sacred earth our political work is transformed into and becomes a gesture of worship and the burden of political responsibility is lessened.

II. SPIRITUAL WELL SPRINGS

The Elders of our people are a great spiritual well-spring. Their teaching and knowledge are cultural resources which are the legacy of our rich cultural heritage. Because of their experience and understanding of the earth and its spirits they function as guides for those who walk the spiritual path.

Traditional ritual and ceremonial re-enactment such as the sweat lodge and the sundance are cultural vehicles through which we communicate with the Creator and heal ourselves. By learning and performing these traditions we maintain our individual balance and preserve our cultural practices for our children and future generations. Strict adherence to ceremonial rite may not always be feasible or possible. With the passage of time knowledge of certain ritual practices may be lost. This loss does not diminish the essence and value of prayer and meditation if we proceed with an earnest heart and respect for all people, the earth and the spirits which dwell thereon.

The land itself is a liberating bio-force. Its seasons and cyclical changes illustrate and mirror the changes which we experience in our own lives. It provides us with a natural standard by which we may gauge our own growth. The ebb and flow of the tides, the spawning of the salmon and the eventual coming of winter teach the secrets of change, birth and our own inevitable passage into the Spirit world and beyond.

All things of the earth are manifestations of the Creator. This is true to the bodies in which our spirits dwell. They are sacred vessels which we need to respect and maintain. Defiling our bodies with intoxicants, alcohol and drugs is a desecration of our spirit and the Creator who has blessed us with this life.

(These are the words from the Talking Circle on patterns of ethnocide.)

Section D - Dealing with Patterns of Ethnocide:

1. Domestic Violence

a. Philosophy: "In respect for Mother Earth, we unconditionally commit ourselves to her, to our sisterhood, and to the Circle of Life.

We as Indian women do not deserve to be beaten. We as Indian Women, realizing that we cannot endure the pain of violence alone, can grow by sharing.

We as Indian Women need to respect and appreciate the tribal differences amongst us and realize that we have all learned ways of surviving.

Words from the Indigenous Women's Network Meeting

by Winona LaDuke



Kawehi Kanul, Moani Akaka-Hawaiian Nations

We as Indian Women hold a vision of family without violence.

As the Mother Earth reveals her strength through the creation of life, we also derive strength from her to make positive change through our own decisions."

(b) A Message to Battered Women:

"If you are a battered Indian woman...There is help available to you if you ask for it. There is probably someone right in your community that you can talk to. Look for that person. Hiding alone with your problems will not solve it and take the hurt away.

You did not deserve to be beaten or hurt. The violence is not your fault. You did not make the other person hurt you - that was their choice to treat you that way. You cannot change them to make the violence stop. You can make some choices. They are usually very hard to make, but with support from others, it is possible to improve your life.

If it is too dangerous for you to live at home, look for another safe place to stay until you find out what your choices are. If you are not safe in your community, there are safe homes and shelters for battered women where you can go with your children to be safe.



Violet Nyce and friends of Haisla Nation, British Columbia.

You need to know that the violence is hurting your children, too. They are growing up in terror, fearing for your life and theirs."

(c) Supporting Battered Women:

"If you know a battered woman, YOU CAN HELP! Listen to her and believe her. Respect the danger of her situation by not telling others what she has said and by talking about what to do in an emergency.

Remind her that she is not to blame - she did not cause the violence.

Encourage her to see that she still has choices and to figure out what they are.

Do not give advice - she needs to find her own answers and she can do this with your support.

Stand by her - even when you don't agree with her choices - don't leave her to deal with the violence alone."

V. SUPPORTING OTHER WOMEN

Loneliness, alienation and feelings of abandonment are prevalent among our people. This is attributable in part to the fact that Indian women have in the past been separated from their parents and tribe and raised in foster homes or orphanages. Isolation and loneliness are powerful influences which can be dispelled by sharing and confiding in others. These human emotions and responses cannot overpower our spirits when we open our hearts in confidence with other women. Only when these subjective fears are brought to light can we see the reality of our commonness in suffering and despair. Because we rely on others to share our pain and loneliness we must make ourselves available to heal and support our sisters in their time of need. In this way a burden shared is half a burden, and a sorrow spoken is released and dispelled.

THE PINE RIDGE EXPERIENCE:

The Sacred Shawl Women's Society of Pine Ridge Reservation has been successful in its lobbying efforts with the tribal council. It is now a crime on the Pine Ridge Reservation to abuse a spouse. The Society conducts community educational workshops on domestic violence. It also networks with women on the reservation, and maintains safe houses for abused women and their families. The Sacred Shawl Society counsels and provides transportation for victims of domestic violence.

The women of the Sacred Shawl Society follow the teachings of the Lakota people. The Lakota believe that the family is the foundation of the Lakota Nation. Consequently, to strengthen the family is to strengthen the Nation.)

THE FAMILIES

Our discussion in the Talking Circles on the Families dealt with both countering cycles of ethnocide, and the rebuilding of traditional support systems. We all felt that the traditional support systems have been the strength in strong families. In the summary of this Talking Circle we said:

"Everyone needs to work on making the home a safe place. This is the responsibility not only of the father and the mother who live in the home, but also of the elders of the family. What is most important is that the children of the family feel secure. If a home is a violent place because of drug use or alcoholism, it is the responsibility of the mother to take the children to a place that is safe.

Traditional support systems should be utilized to maintain the family unit during times of stress. Lack of communication between parents and children is a problem. When problems come up in a family that separate a child from its father or mother, the elders can be brought in to facilitate talking circles to resolve these issues. In the talking circles, young children, their parents, as well as the elders are able to sit down on common and equal ground to discuss the problems that they are facing. The talking circles affords each person in the family unit the opportunity to speak their mind and to share their concerns. We cannot resolve families in the family unit unless we identify and meet the need of every individual in the family. By utilizing the family talking circles it is possible to resolve conflict by creating solutions which meet the individual needs of every person in the family."

OUR COMMUNITIES

"If your body is hurt, like a pin is in your foot, or a cut, this is like what we are doing to Mother Earth.

Living things...rocks, trees, plants all have hearts, minds, they all have prayers. Even if we don't think they talk, they do. When you hear the wind whisper in the bushes, that is them talking.

Young people they are being enslaved. They are beginning to forget their prayers and traditional ways. They never come around and say, "I'll herd sheep for you 2 or 3 days." They just say they want to eat mutton. They obey the laws, the papers, in that way I'm calling them enslaved.

We have to pray for our children morning, noon, and night every day. We want them to carry on these prayers. Like the land we're hanging on to, we want them to use it generation after generation."

Roberta Blackgoat

Big Mountain Dine Nation

There were many different land struggles we spoke about in our talking circles, however, we



Mary Jane Wilson, Anishinabe Nation.



Marsha Gomez, Chocktow/Chicana & Agnes Williams, Seneca Nation.

thought just to highlight one here -one from New Caledonia, (Susanna Ounei), represented by four sisters.

"...This is just like us at home. It is our land, we are the indigenous people. Before now, there was no one else there. It is our land. In 1853, the white people came, in 1853, there were 25,000 people left after the massacres. Before that they said that there were 75,000 people. There is no way that there were just 75,000 people. We could not have been all over our island if there were just 75,000 people - we have over 300,000 people. In 1878 we had a big insurrection led by a war chief, he was killed.

The French began taking our people and putting them into wars. Our people refused to fight for the French. They said that why should our people go and fight to protect French soil, when the French are back here oppressing us. Our people refused. One of our Chiefs refused to fight. They came and cut off his head, and put his head on display in a museum in France. It is still there in the exhibit.

The French say that they built up our country, but we built everything here. Our grandmothers and grandfathers built everything in this country, and they never got paid any wages. They built it.

Now we are in a liberation struggle, and they say that we are looking to communism and socialism. When we fight, we fight because we want back our land. They took all of our land and put us on reservations. We did not know about this socialism or communism, we just wanted back our land.

We don't fight as men and women here. When the French kill us they kill us all. Just as some examples of our situation, out of 66,000 Kanaks, only 7,000 have jobs. We have huge nickel mines here - INCO is the company, and our mine is the largest in the world. And, for example, the French coffee comes from our land, and so does the French soap. Think about it, the soap they say is from Marseilles, can't be from Marseilles - the French do not have any coconuts.

We are in an armed resistance now. We are



Tawna Sanchez, International Indian Treaty Council.



boycotting all the French schools. We are struggling for our independence. It is not enough to talk about a "Nuclear Free Pacific," we must also be independent.

THE WORLD

All of the talking circles build up to our global community. And perhaps the greatest teachings - ones returned to repeatedly, are those of our traditions. Within that context, we speak of the teachings of the Great Peacemaker as an approach to our global community.

A SENECA STORY:

There were four messages sent to our people. The first was the creation story which described our world. The second was the story of the twelve brothers, about a time when the people forgot and became destructive and didn't care for the creation. The third story is the story of the Peacemaker.

The Peacemaker gave people the Great Law. He defined relationships between the government and he stopped the practice of cannibalism. The Peacemaker brought peace.

The Peacemaker came at a time of great upheaval. The people had forgotten their cultural ways. The people were overcome with anger, greed, hatred, fear and envy. The Peacemaker was able to restore order by teaching the people how to respond and communicate positively with each other. The Peacemaker instilled in the people once again the love and the pride that they had at being the guardians of the sacred earth.

Eventually, all the people began to walk a path of Peacekeeper. There remained only one hateful person who refused to change his ways. Tadaho was his name. He alone continued to war on his neighbors. His ways were murderous and treacherous. He was hideous to behold, his hair was matted with snakes.

When the Peacemaker learned of Tadaho, he called together all the people. He went with them to confront Tadaho and try to make Tadaho change his ways. Although Tadaho steadfastly refused, the people were relentless in their pursuit to convince him to walk the path of the Peacekeeper. The people brought out combs and began to comb the snakes out of Tadaho's hair. Thus, with the help of the people Tadaho was able to change and become a great council leader.

When someone has problems, we need to help them. We need to be supportive among our own people if we are to deal with problems like child abuse, alcoholism, suicide, spouse and domestic violence. We need to help each other comb the snakes of our hair.

Australia Aborigines and A-Bomb Tests

The Royal Commission inquiry into the effects of British atomic tests in Australia between 1952 and 1963 headed by Justice James McClelland commenced in August 1984 and heard final statements last September. Their final report is due in late November. In 14 months, this Royal Commission became Australia's most celebrated, longest running, expensive and mobile federal inquiry. While members of the Commission trekked the central desert and flew to London to search British records, they uncovered a broad range of issues with far-reaching implications — the responsibility of scientists and bureaucrats to provide information to the public, the status of Aboriginal people in Australia, the question of Australia's sovereignty and foreign powers making unilateral decisions, and Australia's role in the nuclear cycle.

According to the 700 page British submission, there was no evidence that the 12 nuclear tests and 550 minor trials harmed anyone in Australia. But Mr. Peter McClelland, the counsel assisting the Royal Commission said in April there was evidence that British and Australian authorities had embarked on a deliberate exercise to hide the facts about the tests and to manipulate public opinion. He said the atomic weapons testing safety committee and its head, Sir Ernest Titterton, had been "deceitful and grossly negligent." Sir William Penney, director of most of the tests, admitted he had asked for an article written by scientist Dr. Hedley Marston to be edited before publication because it contained "alarmist passages." (Back in the 1950's, Dr. Marston suggested the Australian public was being "hoodwinked" about the safety of the tests in the desert.)

It was Lord Penney again who made the decision to ask meteorologists to explain away any civilian sightings of a blast cloud as "probably a rain cloud." In another case, a British scientist disguised in a boiler suit used a concealed geiger counter to measure radioactivity in a pub in Onslow, northwest Australia. Radiation was an emotional issue, he said, so he felt it wiser not to appear in a white lab coat with a clicking geiger counter in case it "alarmed the locals."

A deputy director of the UK Atomic Weapons Research establishment, Mr. Ronald Siddons, said he believed the Totem One bomb exploded at Emu, South Australia in October 1953 and the One Tree bomb should not have been fired because of conditions he considered too risky for nearly populated areas. It was the Totem One bomb which Pitjantjatjara people later reported covered them with a deadly "black mist that wouldn't go away." Siddons said the Totem blast was based on faulty data which predicted the area of contamination for a bomb one half the yield of the bomb exploded. And the One Tree bomb of the buffalo series, exploded at Maralinga in September, 1956, was given the go ahead despite pre-test predictions that wind conditions could cause unacceptable levels of contamination reaching the outback town of Coober Pedy (ironically, the name of this opal-mining town where people live in dugouts under the earth is from the Arabana language meaning "whitefella in a hole").

The deeper the Commission dug, the more disturbing the revelations it uncovered, especially concerning the disregard by both the British and the Australians for the safety of Aboriginal people. A 535 page submission from 11 Aboriginal groups and individuals from West Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territories stated that:

"At the time of the tests, Aborigines had no vote, they derived no benefits from the tests, they were not even informed about the tests, nor given the opportunity to move out of the way of the fallout which it was known they would receive... The way of life of Aborigines in the 1950's exposed them acutely to radiation effects."

It also said Aborigines in the paths of the tests would have for the most part been barefoot, poorly clothed or naked, sleeping and cooking on the ground, spending much of their time in the open, eating native plants and animals and drinking water. Aborigines were exposed to radiation fallout after British tests in the Monto Bello islands in 1952 and 1956, at Emu in 1953 and at Maralinga in 1956 and 1957.

The British, it appears, relied on the Australians for briefings on the Aborigines, but the information provided was scant. Dr. David Barnes, a health physicist responsible for safety planning, admitted ignorance to the fact that "tribal Aborigines were barefooted, slept on the ground and were scantily dressed." British ignorance of Australia, especially among scientists responsible for planning important health and safety aspects for the tests verges on the pitiful. One scientist said he hadn't believed dust storms were a matter for concern in the transport of air-

Australia A-Bomb Tests Tasmania Land Rights Kalkadoon Survival

by John Stokes

(Over the last year, NOTES has run a series of articles on Aboriginal Australia — A-Bomb tests by the British in the 1950's and their effects (Vol. 16, #5 and Vol. 17, #1), land rights and human rights in Tasmania (Vol. 17, #2), and the survival of the newly formed Kalkadoon Tribal Council in Northwest Queensland (Vol. 17, #4). The editors asked this time for a follow up on these stories, so as of mid-November, this was the news I had received. JS)



born contamination because "they only moved dust up and down in the same place." He was later surprised to learn that dust storms could move tons of material over hundreds of kilometers.

Veterans groups have asked that compensation be paid to those who may have suffered from radiation. Aboriginal groups have argued that both British and Australian governments should compensate them financially for the irresponsible management of the tests. They also recommend that a Maralinga clean-up commission be set up to oversee immediate removal of all plutonium-contaminated fragments and the erection of additional fencing around plutonium contaminated areas, as well as ensuring the police patrol the area until it is returned to its traditional owners.

"The explosion of atomic bombs and the poisoning of the land wrought deep fear and anxiety among the people," said the Aboriginal report. "This related to their confusion and ignorance of the meaning and purpose of the tests, thought by some to presage war, and to the actual disturbance of the land itself, believed to have poisoned the ground, and awakened malevolent forces within it." Speaking on the toxicity of plutonium, Dr. Anne Marie Grisogono of Scientists Against Nuclear Arms said "plutonium has been called the most toxic substance known because it takes so very little of it to produce a lung cancer... The latency period is a minimum of 10 years and up to 30 before the cancer develops."

During this Royal Commission, a heated debate was taking place in another portion of Pitjantjatjara/Yankuntjatjara country. Admist great controversy, the title to the giant monolith Ayers Rock was returned in October to the Anangu Pitjantjatjaraku people. (It was immediately leased back to the Federal government for 99 years, but it gives the people much greater say in the administration of the Rock). The new owners — member of the Mutitjulu community — performed a sacred dance at the hand-over ceremony. The dance, part of the Kuniya (carpet snake) Dreaming and rarely witnessed by non-Aborigines, was presented as irrefutable evidence of their claim to the area. The gulf between British ignorance of the land Australia ("terra nullius") and Aboriginal attitudes that knowledge and caring for the land constitute ownership could not be more clearly stated than in the words of this song which was sung in Pitjantjatjara at the Ayers Rock.

We are many going
With strength
Our brave spirit
Others are unable to manage, look after.
We the holder of many stories
Forever watch over great country.
We can try with a sureness
We will hold the stories of long ago
On this ground of ours.
Our country is beautiful
Holy ground stands everywhere.

For further information or to support contact:

Pitjantjatjara Council
P.O. Box 2189
Alice Springs, NT 5750
Australia

Land Rights and Human Rights in Tasmania

The struggle to be Aboriginal in Tasmania continues. During National Aborigines Week last September, a request from the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre, (T.A.C.) to have the Aboriginal flag flown was rejected by the council of Burnie. It has approved the Centre's request in 1982, 1983 and last year, but this year a motion to stop the flag-raising put forward by Cr. T.A. Stott received unanimous support. Councillor Stott said there was "no such thing" as a Tasmanian Aboriginal.

When questioned in July on land rights for Aborigines, Tasmanian Premier Robin Gray responded in much the same way:

"The government's position on the question of Aboriginal landrights has been quite clear and has not altered. We have stated repeatedly over the last three years that it is a policy of this government to treat all Tasmanians equally and not to give special recognition to any ethnic or racial group no matter who it is..."

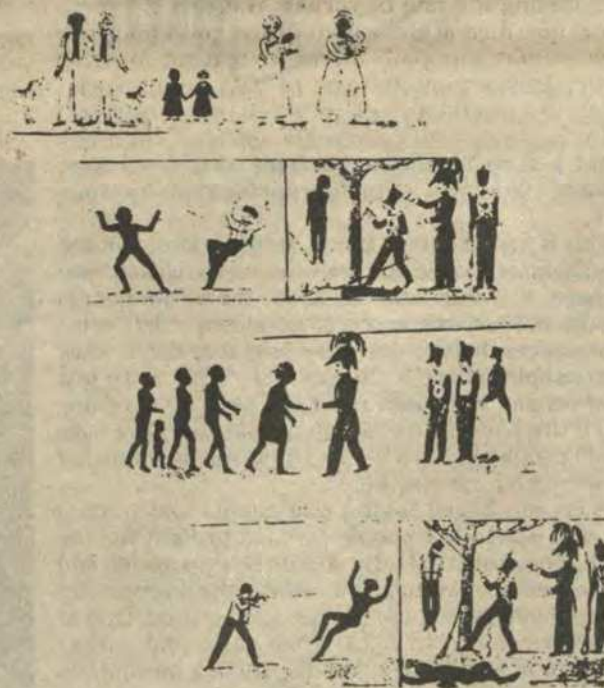
The Aborigines have already met with the Premier and given him a land claim. At a rally in Hobart in July, Mike Mansell, solicitor for the T.A.C. gave details of the land claim:

"We are asking for very specific pieces of land: for seven mutton bird islands, so that Aboriginal people can continue the only tradition that is available to us — mutton-birding. We're asking for three significant sites on the Franklin River, Kuti Kina Cave and Cape Grim, where the whites ran 200 blacks off a cliff to their death."

We ask for the Mt. Cameron West rock carvings: for Wybelena and Cape Barren Island and Oyster Cove — on the map mere pencil dots. We don't want fobbing off, we don't want inquiries, we want it back in 1985...

Let's not forget that we get nothing from this government that we don't have to fight for. We could not even get the right that white people assume — the right to deal with their dead. We had to fight a campaign for four years to attain that basic human right. Only after an act of parliament could we cremate our dead at Oyster Cove."

Under uniform land rights legislation being prepared by the Federal government, the Tasmanians will have no legal land rights claim, leaving them with one square kilometer of designated freehold land in the Bass Strait islands which they own for mutton-birding.



Not even the site at Oyster Cove could be claimed under this legislation, as it is already allocated for use by the State Government. The Black Station at Oyster Cove was first used as a convict prison and later a prison for tribal Tasmanians. But the site has become increasingly important to the Aboriginal community since the cremation in May of 12 remains from the infamous Crowther collection, a collection acquired by grave-robbing. The first such ceremony in Tasmania for 150 years, the four day cremation was an intensely emotional occasion for the community — a celebration of their identity and a reminder of the violence that nearly annihilated an entire race. Adding to the modern significance of the site is the growing list of Aborigines who have begun stating in their wills that they want to be cremated at Oyster Cove or have their ashes scattered there. Many old people today still fear that their remains will be tampered with when they die. Scientists set out to prove in the last century that the Tasmanians were among the most primitive in the world, perhaps even



the "missing link." Payment was available for anyone who could bring in Aboriginal bones and skulls. This led to mass murder.

Speaking on the spiritual obligation to ensure that their ancestors were buried properly, Mike Mansell said:

"When we carried out the ceremony at Oyster Cove, we knew we had laid the spirits to rest. We could sense it, we could feel it. The wind no longer had the howl of the spirits, it has quietened. We knew the crying had stopped."

From the ceremony came another idea. People began asking, "What about all those other remains on the mainland and in the collections overseas?" Working from a list of Aboriginal materials in European collections, assembled in 1962 by Professor N. Plomley (who supported the notion of the extinction of the Tasmanians), Mr. Mansell embarked on a venture which the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre dubbed a "Journey for Dignity." His search took him to eight countries and 14 institutions, into rooms overflowing with human remains representing "the spoils of scientific rape." As the list Mansell worked from was over 20 years old, he spend much of the ten week journey tracing the fate of various remains.

He was horrified at the extent of the collections of Aborigines, but especially of New Zealand Maoris and other Polynesians. Vowing to pass on information to these groups, Mansell said, "There's tons of it, not just hundreds, but literally thousands of human remains... I thought we were bad off with our dead, but I think the Maoris got a worse deal."

Institutions in Dublin, Edinburg, Stockholm and Chicago were sympathetic to Mansell's request for the return of remains, although many pleaded difficulties in getting such a recommendation past their government and board of trustees, especially if the board was dominated by scientists. The University of Edinburg was reportedly shocked at learning the history of a skull it had on display — the skull of William Lanney, so-called last male Tasmanian, whose body was ransacked shortly after it reached the morgue. In Brussels, the museum director refused to comment after the government denied having any remains. When Mansell threatened to go to the international press, the director admitted they did have a few remains.

The reception he got at the British Museum was a good indicator of the response of those unwilling to let go of the remains. Said Mansell:

"They had the largest collection — about 25-30 human remains. But they said they were the property of scientists and of immense value to mankind. So I said, 'What have you learned from them in 100 years', and they said 'Not much!' I said, 'What do you think you can learn now?' They said they wanted to learn about our language. So I spoke some words and said, 'Ask us, we can tell you about that.' How can you learn about language from human remains? So they said they wanted to learn about what food we ate. I said the old people can tell you that. They were brought up on bush tucker."

With Mansell's return from the U.S. and Europe, Oyster Cove has become significant to the community in yet another way. Those institutions which agreed to return remains wanted guarantees that the remains would be kept in a safe place to which they could have access. Mr. Mansell told them a special "keeping place" would be constructed, involving an underground burial pit which can be entered. Possession of the Black Station at Oyster Cove would give the Tasmanians the assurance of a settled future

which they need to present to the institutions holding the remains. Said Mansell, "If we can't have control and protect our own dead then what is there to being Aboriginal?"

State Secretary of the T.A.C., Cheryl Fulton summed up the struggle about land rights and Oyster Cove this way:

...The reality of land rights in this state is this: the return of Aboriginal people's land to them is a right, not a favor.

Our land was never sold, and never signed over in any document. It was stolen from us in a bloody war...

We have suffered from generation to generation ever since, right to now when our kids are still struggling to gain an identity in schools where they are taught they don't exist. Land rights can give us our pride back.

When we talk about Oyster Cove I just wonder how much has changed since 1847 when our people were taken down there and had to live in those cold atrocious conditions on their land...

They're still down there every night without facilities because we can't get money to build them, as it's not our land according to the government. If we want protection of sites like that, the only way we will get it is to have the land returned to us to take care of it."

For further information on how to support, contact: Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre
1 Short St.
Glebe, Tasmania
Australia
ph. 34 1405



(A special thanks to Margot O'Neill, and for her article: Tasmanian Journey For Dignity which appeared in Melbourne Age. -J.S.)



Kalkadoon Survival

"Cultural revival is survival," reads the Kalkadoon logo. "Battle Mountain 1884-1984." One hundred years after their famous resistance at Battle Mountain in northwest Queensland, the spirit of the Kalkatungu tribe remains alive today in the Kalkadoon Tribal Council. Through restoration and revival of known materials, as well as the collection of new information, the council has begun to promote their culture and make the general community aware of their work.

A monument to the fallen has been dedicated at Battle Mountain. The council joined the National Federation of Land Councils and they have begun to research a film which would reconstruct a model of Aboriginal society when the Europeans arrived 120 years ago. Through their work on this film, Mr. James Taylor, council administrator, and Dr. Paul Memmot, co-director of the Aboriginal Data Archive, have found people who "identify as Kalkadoon, speak the language, and whose ancestral ties trace back to the local descent groups in the Mt. Isa/Cloncurry area, many of them were born in this area and have detailed knowledge of tribal traditions and frontier history." The film will portray the Kalkadoons as freedom fighters defending their land with sophisticated tactics, in contrast to the widely accepted notion that the Aboriginal Australians more or less passively withered away before the inevitable inhabitation by Europeans.

"The battle is far from over. It's only just beginning." The survival of a relatively small tribal group in

Australia through the revival of their culture may not seem important, but it is a part of a larger move to retain or regain identity which tribal groups around the world are embarking upon. The news from Kalkadoon country equals a cultural revolution in China. As we recognize and support the struggle for cultural identity, remember the closing lines of a poem entitled "A Chant of a Rock," written by Japanese poet Nanao Sakaki for Ayers Rock:

...Ladies and gentlemen
Welcome to the dreamland!
Welcome to the magical rock!

Please enter airconditioned Australia.
Please enjoy airconditioned Australia.

But, ladies and gentlemen
Don't forget what happened here in the Dreamtime!

Remember Wounded Knee in Australia
Remember Auschwitz in Australia
Remember Hiroshima in Australia
Remember a shiny rock in the dreamland!

So long, so long---
Forty thousand years
I wait for you.

For further information:
Mr. James Taylor, Administrator
Kalkadoon Tribal Council
P.O. Box 2276
Mt. Isa, Queensland
ph 077-435095



Canada: Lubicon Lake versus Union Oil Construction Plans

A week ago I received a phone call from a man named Victor Bohme. Mr. Bohme is a member of a Provincial Government agency called the Energy Resources Conservation Board (ERCB). The ERCB has "regulatory authority over the energy resource industries" in Alberta.

Mr. Bohme advised me that the ERCB has received an application from the Union Oil Company asking permission to "loop" an existing pipeline passing through the 25 square mile block of land which both levels of Government agreed as long ago as 1939 rightfully belonged to the Lubicon Lake people. "Looping", he said, is a means of increasing pipeline transmission capacity by constructing a second pipeline parallel to the first and then connecting the two pipelines at either end.

Mr. Bohme said that he was trying to arrange a meeting between the Band and officials of the Union Oil Company so that officials of the Union Oil Company could explain the employment and other benefits which the Band could expect as a result of pipeline construction.

I told Mr. Bohme that I doubted the Band would want a major construction project undertaken right through the heart of their traditional lands. I told him that I presumed that the Band would want to file a formal objection to such a pipeline being built. I asked him if the ERCB would be giving the Band formal notice of the Union application, as is the normal procedure under such circumstances.

Mr. Bohme assured me that the ERCB would be sending the Band formal notification of the Union application, giving the Band an opportunity to file a formal objection. Mr. Bohme said that formal notice to the Band would be sent to Band lawyer Ken Staroszk in Calgary, as had been done earlier with an application made to the ERCB by Rainbow Pipeline.

A couple of days later Band lawyer James O'Reilly received a phone call from a representative of the Federal Government advising him that officials of Union Oil were seriously considering a proposal to meet with the Band for the purpose of explaining to Band members the urgency of pipeline construction and how little damage would be done to traditional Band lands by this new pipeline. In any case, O'Reilly was told, Union Oil planned to proceed with construction in a couple of weeks, implying that the ERCB had already agreed to approve the application, without benefit of public notice, and without benefit of a public hearing on the matter.

O'Reilly told the representative of the Federal Government that construction of the Union pipeline would change the status of the Band's traditional lands while those lands were the subject of top level discussions between the Band and both levels of Government. He said that the Band would therefore oppose such construction and had instructed him to file an injunction to stop Union Oil from constructing the proposed pipeline pending settlement of the Band's land claim. Regarding the proposed meeting, O'Reilly said that the Band was not interested in a meeting to discuss a decision already made with everyone knew the Band opposed.

To-date the Band has not received formal written notice of the Union application, providing the Band with an opportunity to file a formal written objection. Likely the ERCB intends to approve the application without benefit of the normally required public hearing, as they did in the case of the Rainbow Pipeline, after conveniently concluding that Indian land rights are not a matter of concern to the ERCB.

Band lawyer James O'Reilly is working on an injunction application but there's no reason to believe that the Courts in Alberta will any more concerned about the rights of Band members now than in the past.

E. Davie Fulton is seeking a delay in construction plans as well believing that a legal and political confrontation between the Band and the Province over the Union Oil pipeline will jeopardize his "inquiry" into the question of Band land rights. His ability to affect Union and Provincial Government plans is unknown.

Band members consider the question of whether the Union pipeline goes ahead at this time to be one of great significance to their struggle for survival. A line clearly has to be drawn. If these major construction projects are allowed to continue, there'll simply



be nothing left to discuss.

Band members are preparing to take direct action in the Lubicon Lake area should Union Oil try to commence construction.

Supporters of the Band in Calgary are reportedly organizing demonstrations at the head office of Union Oil.

The Chief again asks that concerned people write in support of the Band's position that major new construction projects in the Band's traditional area be postponed until the Band's land claim is settled.

The names and addresses of people to whom letters should be sent are as follows:

Mr. F.L. Hartley, Chairman
Union Oil Company
of Canada Limited
335-8th Ave. S.W.
Calgary, Alberta T2P 2K6
403-268-0176

The Hon. E. Davie Fulton
Swinton & Co.
1300-1090 West Georgia
Street
Vancouver, B.C. V6E 3X9
604-687-2242

The Hon. M. Pahl, Minister
Native Affairs
Legislative Buildings
Edmonton, Alberta
403-427-3675

Mr. Vern Millard, Chairman
Energy Resources
Conservation Board
640 Fifth Avenue S.W.
Calgary, Alberta T2P 3G4
403-297-8311

The Hon. D. Crombie,
Minister
Indian & Northern Affairs
Ottawa/Hull, CANADA
613-994-2822

Source:

Fred Lennarson
The Mimir Corporation
3536-106 Street
Edmonton, Alberta T6J 1A4
403-436-5652



The Green Party in Canada: Does it have a future?

(The following essay is based on an article forthcoming in Probe Post: Canada's Environmental Magazine. David McRobert is a Fellow in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University and a student at Osgoode Hall Law School.)

In February 1983, a new era began in Canadian politics. Approximately 200 British Columbia residents formed an organization under the rubric of the "Green Party" and announced that they intended to contest several seats in an upcoming Provincial election. Not to be outdone by their B.C. counterparts, a group of environmental activists in Toronto announced the formation of the Green Party of Ontario in May 1983.

Political observers and critics predicted an early demise for the Greens in Canada. They pointed out that many of the policies advocated by Canadian Greens were part of the platforms of the New Democratic Party on both the provincial and federal levels. Bob Rae, leader of the NDP in Ontario, told a reporter for Maclean's magazine in December 1983 that Green politics is irrelevant in Canada.

After more than two years of struggle to get established in Canada, the jury is still out on the future of Green Parties in Canada. Questions have been raised, for example, by former members who have recently left the Green Party of Ontario as to whether the Greens are still a viable political entity of Canada.

The main reason for the difficulties the Greens have experienced in trying to organize in Canada would seem to result from the nature of the values that Greens promote. These values include local control and consensus decision-making. However, they appear to be in conflict with attempts by the Canadian Greens to broaden their political support base.

The emphasis on local control, for example, has encouraged a divergence of views on how best to intervene politically to protect the environment. Historically, many environmentalists have preferred to employ an approach termed loosely as "environmental politics." This approach includes techniques such as political protest, education, non-partisan lobbying or working within the established parties in Canada to, for example, promote environmental law reform.

In contrast, those attracted to Green parties in Canada so far seem more strongly oriented to partisan politics. The version of politics they advocate is generally known as ecological politics. It stresses bringing environmental concerns to the forefront of decision-making through the direct election of individuals concerned about environmental issues.

While the potential contribution of ecological politics to the amelioration of environmental problems is unclear at present, serious questions can be raised about the relevance of this approach in Canada. Recent federal and Ontario provincial election results show that the Canadian public is not ready to vote for Green parties in Canada.

There are two major reasons for the limited political support for the Greens in Canada despite growing public concern about the arms race and environmental issues. To many Canadians, ecological politics is an imported movement. These people have gained awareness of the Green movement through the success of the West German party. That group has achieved considerable political support for their environmental and anti-nuclear platforms.

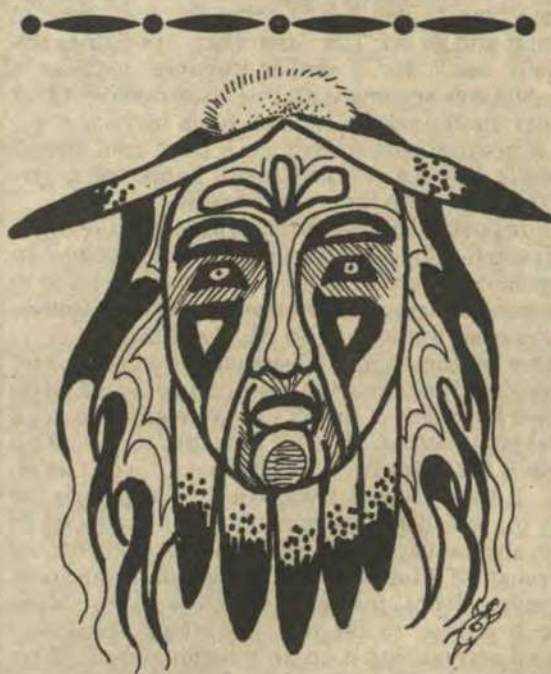
The success of the West German Greens reflects the system of proportional representation in the country which grants expression to minority viewpoints. In contrast, most parliamentary democracies in the English tradition stress a form of representational politics which is non-proportional and "the winner takes all."

The other major reason why the Greens have failed to receive support in Canada is that they are perceived as a one-issue party. For example, some critics claim that the Greens separate their concern for the environment from other important social and economic issues. This portrayal of the Greens seriously maligns the holistic approach of the movement, however. In response to this charge, Trevor Hancock, a Toronto physician and founding member of the Ontario Greens comments "Sure we are a one issue party. The issue is survival of the planet. If you're looking at the transformation of social values, that has implications in all dimensions of public policy."

Indian brothers and friends of the Indian Cause:
Greetings from the Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples currently immersed within a process of historic liberation. We wish to call attention by this writing to some important matters in order that you and your organization can maintain a close-up view of the developments concerning issues and struggles of our Indian peoples in Nicaragua.

Misurasata: Miskito Communication

"Misurasata Aiklaklabrike Ba"
(Original in Spanish)



1. The Government of the Sandinista Front, pressured by the unrelenting Indian resistance of our brothers and the growing international solidarity in favor of the Indian struggle in Nicaragua, and after more than three years of attempting in vain a military solution to the present conflict, has been trying desperately since last year (1984) to change the form of its policy of *ethnocide and physical abuse against the Indians*, only to obscure the substance of the conflicts (the deprivation of the inalienable rights of the Indian). To that end, the Government currently is carrying out an intense political publicity campaign aimed at orienting international public opinion in its favor. The government's publicity efforts are centered on its purported solution to the conflicts with the Indians in Nicaragua. But the Indians of Misurasata are not deceived by the new lies and publicity maneuverings of the regime. The Sandinistas' actions are nothing but appearances and deceit. Fundamentally, they still have not assumed the political will necessary to resolve the conflicts in a responsible and just manner. Because they have not been able to militarily overrun the Indians, they now try to destroy us politically, yet without renouncing their militaristic alternative.

2. In the recent meeting of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations of the United Nations in Geneva, the Sandinista Government representatives, shamelessly using the same terminology frequently used by Indian leaders, tried to appear a vanguard of Indian concerns. In an attempt to impress the leaders and observers at the meeting, they skillfully used terms such as "peoples", "self-determination", "territory", "autonomy", "self-determination", etc., etc., words which Ms. Roxanne Dunbar had compiled for and recommended to the official representatives as a means of appearing as a progressive government or one advanced in its treatment of the Indians of the hemisphere. This clearly is a new political tactic to create confusion and to continue deceiving the naive. All indications, however, are that no one at the meeting was convinced by the Government's adorned but empty mouthing, other than some of the regime's Indian friends, who always prefer to be on the side of the aggressors and against their Indian brothers.

3. The Government's so-called "Autonomy Statute" is nothing more than a pseudo-project of administrative reorganization of the Atlantic region through the creation of new provinces with public governments, by which the Sandinistas want to convert their opportunistic loyalists into the Government's police for the control and repression of the Indian people. It is clear that this fictitious autonomy has nothing to do with the true aboriginal rights of the Indian peoples. Rather, the Government promotes its pseudo-statute without the participation of the Indian peoples and their legitimate leaders in order to continue denying recognition of the Indians' traditional territory, natural resources and right to self government. Our people already have rejected valiantly this officialistic project and at the same time have demanded that the Government negotiate seriously with the combatants and leaders of Misurasata. Otherwise the Government will continue to impose war and death on the Indians.

4. The true causes of the impasse in the Peace negotiations with Misurasata have surfaced: the regime's bad faith within the process and its manipulative attempts to impose its artificial solution upon the Indian peoples. The Sandinistas are now putting forth conditions for the continuation of the negotiations with Tomas Borge at the head of their delegation. These conditions clearly indicate that the Government wants to impose unilaterally its own norms against the legitimate interests of the Indians. The Government conditions are:

(a) That the negotiations take place within Nicaragua. After assassinating Eduardo Pantin (the military chief who participated in talks with the Sandinista army through the Red Cross), it is clear they want to force our leaders into their hands. By this condition, the Sandinistas demonstrate no regard for their initial commitment with Misurasata to hold the negotiations outside the country.

(b) The exclusion of the presence of international organs. Because the Sandinistas are not serious

and do not deal fairly, they do not want witnesses to the talks. Misurasata in the past (1979-1981) negotiated various times with the government and arrived at accords and promises, but the government has failed to comply with even one of those commitments. Who now guarantees compliance with new accords?

(c) A prior cease-fire accord. With this, the government wants to freeze the Indian resistance and tie the hands of our combatants in order that it can act freely against our civilian populations and communities. The Government would presume to finish with the Indian resistance without resolving the causes of the conflicts (the military occupation and repression of the communities and deprivation of the Indians' aboriginal rights). In more than six years of its revolution, the Sandinista Front has failed to recognize even one principle of Indian rights.

(d) That there be a preliminary meeting. The Sandinistas maintain there is a new principal negotiator (Tomas Borge) and he should become familiar with all aspects of the eight months of the process which already have transpired (October 1984-May 1985). Misurasata does not negotiate with one person in particular but with the Government of Nicaragua. It therefore does not matter how many times the Government changes its negotiators, inasmuch as we are within the same process and an entirely new effort cannot begin each time the Government changes its representations. Is the government serious in its negotiations with the Indians or is it not? Or is it that the process is subject to the arbitrariness or capriciousness of one person? We demand that the initial accord of no preconditions for the negotiations be respected. The government in any event already knows the negotiation agenda (the causes of the conflict: the historical rights of the Indian) — that is, a treaty of peace with justice (resolving the issues of land, autonomy, natural resources, ethnic organization, etc.).

5. Upon the forced breakdown in the negotiations last May, the Indian leaders expressed our fears that the regime would take advantage of the occasion to insist on its militaristic alternative, returning to the dark years of blatant repression against our Indian peoples during the years 1981-1983. Today, our fears are becoming a reality: The regime, concentrating its modern arms such as the MI-24 helicopters in Puerto Cabezas, is proceeding toward a counterinsurgency plan (operation clean-up) against our peoples and resistance force. Already the aggressive forces of the regime have invaded and occupied some of the Indian communities. Also, some of the community (base) leaders have been arrested by the Sandinista security forces. International pressure and the denunciation of the regime thus is, required URGENTLY in order to stop Tomas Borge

and the Interior Ministry from carrying out this new escalation of violence and repression.

6. Currently our Indian leaders and cadres are immersed in a task of consolidating and reunifying the Indian movement. This task is a mandate of the will and interests of our Indian peoples. Through the efforts of ASLA we are working toward the celebration of the General Assembly which will formalize the reunification. With this effort we seek to reintegrate into the original position of the Indian struggle the Indian groups that have separated themselves from MISURASATA. This effort also signifies a purging of the harmful individuals who personally have become tied to other groups or foreign interests. For example, Steadman Fagot is out (expelled for betraying the Indian interests) of MISURA-ASLA, and the same fate will follow any other person who becomes tied to interests (such as those of the Government, the counterrevolution or of external forces, etc.) which are outside of and betray the just interests of their Indian brothers. Personal positions and ambitions in the Indian movement can never come before or equal the legitimate interests of the Indian struggle.

"National Peace with Justice for the Indian"

Our address: Misurasata-Asla, Apartado 437, Pavas, San Jose 1200, Costa Rica, C.A.
Please write us: William Preston (Palpa), Information and Press.

Press Communique

The ASLA Commission, the Indian and Creole unity of the organizations MISURASATA, MISURA and SICC of the Miskito, Sumo, Rama and Creole peoples of the Atlantic Region of Nicaragua, clarifies and establishes for the national and international public opinion the following concerning the confusion and disinformation created within the international public opinion by the recent appearance of the name "Kisat" corresponding to a purported new Indian group in Honduras.

WHEREAS:

1. The immediate reunification of the Indian groups that separated themselves from Misurasata is the mandate and express will of the just interests of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples. Although our peoples and the combatants of the Indian resistance always have been united by tradition and through historical struggle, some individuals have deviated on a personal level from the Indian position, forming their small groups and becoming tied to outside interests.

2. During the 16th through the 18th of June, 1985, twenty-eight leaders and Indian cadres of MISURASATA, MISURA and SICC met in a reunification assembly and agreed to the creation of ASLA as the expression of Indian will and unity. The immediate tasks charged to ASLA were: The political-military coordination of the Indian struggle, the development of an Indian autonomy project, and the mounting of the General Assembly. ASLA thus became the only authority and spokesperson of the Indian movement and liberation struggle.

3. The F.D.N., continuing in its eagerness to destroy the Indian movement and its legitimate leadership, has promoted a new anti-Indian maneuver, financing and organizing the small Kisat grouping composed of three MISURASATA deserters (Suazo, Zelaya, and Espinoza) and two new deserters from ASLA (Diego and Hodgson), who have been converted into agents of the F.D.N. We clarify that these individuals have left the Indian Unity because of their personal weaknesses and ambitions. The dirty maneuver of the F.D.N., furthermore, is part of its shameful efforts to gain political advantage by creating the appearance that the Indians are on its side.

THE UNIFIED ORGANIZATIONS OF ASLA THEREFORE ESTABLISH:

1. That we emphatically condemn this recent ghastly maneuver by the F.D.N. against the unity and interests of our Indian peoples. The Indian struggle belongs only to this protagonists and never to the political and economic interests of other groups.

2. That our Indian peoples, their unity under ASLA and their vanguard organization MISURASATA disregard the purported existence of the pseudo group Kisat. Furthermore, the deserters from the Indian unity (ASLA) are suspended indefinitely from their militancy within the Indian movement. Clearly none of these individuals can represent our peoples and their organizations which have been joined together in ASLA. Our peoples, in their own time, will know the measures of Indian discipline to apply to the unfaithful corruptors of the Indian interests and struggles.

GIVEN ON THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1985.
BY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF ASLA,
DELANO MARTIN.

(Wendy Rose hardly needs an introduction. She is a very well-known Native American poet and has appeared in *Akwesasne Notes* before. She willingly shares her strength with us in each new book of hers. Lynn Gray, who conducted the interview for *Akwesasne Notes*, is also an old friend of *Notes*. Once again we thank Lynn from the *Notes* staff and readers.)
Akwesasne Notes: What is your artistic education, white, Indian and otherwise? How did you find your voice?

Wendy Rose: I was always writing things down. I didn't grow up in an Indian community. I grew up pretty much alone; I had a rather solitary childhood. It was natural for me to write things down as soon as I knew how to do it; before that I would just say them. As far as Indian education, there wasn't much, but as I went along I learned that many of the ways in which I approached things were traditional though they weren't taught to me traditionally; they were things that came from inside, that I just knew. What felt natural turned out to be traditional. For instance, to be found by a spirit-helper. Very often, when the poetry is at its best, it's as though I'm just a hollow tube; the poetry is coming through me, not originating with me. Talent has nothing to do with it. As far as formal education, I've never been an English major or anything like that; I don't know anything about literary history. When people talk to me about Shelley or Yeats, the names are familiar but I don't know anything about them. I feel I know something about Native America literary history simply because I've studied it on my own. That's what my dissertation is going to be on, but the Literature Department at the university won't consider this seriously, so my degree will read "anthropology."

AN: How did you find your way into the Indian community, not living on a reservation?

WR: By the time I was 11 I had found the Indian community in Oakland (California), or vice versa. This became a refuge; I was one of those nameless, faceless kids that hung out at pow-wows or the t.v. room at the Intertribal Friendship House, for lack of anywhere else to go. Then I got swept up into the Movement, even before Alcatraz, then wound up on Alcatraz, and so on. It was a natural thing to get involved in the Movement, as it was the only family I had.

AN: Did your graphic expression emerge before, during or after you began writing poetry?

WR: Pretty much at the same time. I have no training in it. And I didn't find out until I grew up that you were supposed to do just one or the other.

AN: As a college instructor, what do you teach? What is important for you to convey to people, of any culture?

WR: For the most part the classes I teach are ready-made; when they hired me I just stepped in to teach classes that were already set up: Native American History, Culture, Contemporary Society, Arts and Humanities. The one class that I won't teach is Indians of the San Joaquin Valley because, as I told them, that has to be taught by someone from the local community. As my contribution to these classes, I talk about sovereignty, the Movement and its history; I make clear to the students that there's a great deal they don't know and that there is a political reason for their ignorance that goes beyond them. For instance, within an hour's drive of downtown Fresno there are seven reservations, and within two or three hours' drive there are 12 or 14. Some of these are very small, really only rancherias, but they too are sovereign. I ask students to tell me the name of just one local tribe, and generally only the Indian can do that. When the class realized how they have been denied information, how they have systematically not received information, the question comes up as to why, who is benefitting from the ignorance of the American people. It gets quite political. We follow what happens with the Treaty Council in Geneva and make some attempt to recognize the spirituality of the Movement, talk about the Movement's history of going from a confrontational focus to a spiritual focus. I feel that this is what I'm supposed to be doing, and that the poetry and the teaching are doing that in two different ways.

AN: Do you find the poetic form more closely aligned with the structure of traditional Indian expression and thought than prose?

WR: Since I didn't grow up in a traditional Indian culture I feel I can't speak in general, but only for myself. What is traditional is always changing, because nothing stands still. Tradition is alive just as the people are alive. There was something that came up recently that really frustrated one of my Chuchchansi students. Her grandmother had taught her to use eucalyptus oil for a head cold, but, of course, the eucalyptus was imported from Australia

THE POWER OF WORDS: An interview with poet/artist/teacher Wendy Rose

by Lynn Gray

a little more than a 100 years ago. An anthropologist on the campus where I teach was trying to tell her it wasn't traditional even though she learned from her grandma how to get the oil from the tree, how to prepare it and so on. The Australian Aborigines undoubtedly use it for a similar purpose, because it works. She was arguing with this anthropologist that it doesn't matter where it came from or how it got there; it became a treatment for a head cold among her people. It was a gift the Creator happened to give them at a later date than other traditions.

AN: Your poetry reveals much appreciation of beauty and even humor while at the same time exhibits an acute political awareness. How have you been able to incorporate or subsume or transpose the negative, the bitterness, the rage, into positive images?

WR: One of the things I learned growing up and becoming more aware of human nature, as we all do when we get older, is that if I really wanted to get a political point across, to tell it outright, to say, "This is it, this is the point I'm trying to make," won't be effective. It has to come from within the people I'm talking to, which means it has to be introduced to them in such a way that it goes inside of them before they recognize it for what it is and when it comes out it's coming from inside themselves. Very often humor is a way to do that, or taking something universal and putting it on an individual basis. If someone can identify with the way it was for one young mother at Wounded Knee, for example, and can imagine what she might have thought, how she felt about trying to protect her child and so on, and can go through the motions with her as they are imagined in the poem, it means more than all the statistics about how many people died there, what kind of artillery was used, why it was done, the medals of honor that were given out to the soldiers and so on. That's common sense but as you learn it and put it into the work it becomes part of the craft as well. I am angry, and I am bitter, and the matter of having the poetry not come out angry and bitter is the crafting of it.

AN: How do white audiences react to your work, and how is it different from the reaction of Indian audiences?

WR: Not many people come up to me afterwards to talk about it, so all I can really go by is the reaction of the audience at the time I'm reading. White audiences usually do one of two things: They're going to turn off to it and become hostile, which doesn't happen very often and when it does it's because they've come for some other reason than to hear me and I just happen to be on the program; or, what occurs most often, they sort of self-flagellate; it's a catharsis, to feel guilty. I don't know how to interpret this because the guilt doesn't get anyone anywhere, and I hope my poetry isn't sufficient catharsis for them, but that they feel they should do something besides just listen to some poems. Indian people, on the other hand, appreciate a direct way of putting things rather than being clever with words or performing verbal gymnastics, as English Department audiences often look for. It's my greatest pleasure to read to an Indian audience, because so far I've been lucky and nobody has thrown any tomatoes or anything. They seem to like what I do and I feel I've contributed something to the Movement.

AN: What kind of criticism have you received from white readers or reviewers?

WR: I'm in about sixty anthologies, a lot of them non-Indian, and an equal number of journals. The non-Indian critics seem to feel that in order to review Indian writing they need to take anthropology before they can comment on my work. Critics have said this to me. Of course they don't have that response if someone is writing from an American-Jewish viewpoint, for instance, or a Polish-American perspective or even an Asian perspective. There's no such thing as a non-ethnic poetry, anywhere in the world. White reviewers will very often just comment on my being Indian and leave it at that, instead of talking about the poetry. You know, they'll say, in effect, that what she'd doing in this book is just 'being an Indian.' I get impatient with that as a writer, when I put the work out there to be reviewed. I want them to get whatever message is in there, to see the work for its own sake, and to accept Indian literature as an equal and valid contribution to the literature of the

world.

AN: Do you see a generalized difference between the writing of Indian women and that of Indian men?

WR: For the most part I feel more spirituality from the writing of Indian women. This is only impression, and maybe it's because I'm a woman, but it seems to me that Indian women more often bring spirituality into their work. With the men it's very often more about themselves as individuals. There are exceptions, of course. But by and large the men are concerned with themselves as one person; I feel they don't quite get out of that perspective. They seem less concerned with visionary life, with dream life, with perception of the world and themselves as a part of that world. It seems the men sometimes are standing apart from the world, looking at it rather than being of it. I don't mean this is a critical sense; it may have to do with the male spirit that moves them. I think that Indian men are having a lot tougher time in this world right now than Indian women. I heard someone say, maybe it was an African tribal woman I saw on television, that men live from day to day, week to week, month to month, year to year, and a woman lives in a continuum of one generation to another. Maybe that's part of it. But there are men who do feel the continuum, and women who write as I've just described the writing of men, from an ego perspective.

AN: What do you see as the main difference between non-Indian writing and that of Indians? What does an Indian point of view offer, in any regard, that is not found in the larger culture?

WR: In poetry I feel a lot of white writing is irrelevant, too introspective about essentially nothing. I was in an audience in Iowa and a well-known white woman writer got up and spent a half hour on a prose piece that was all about her having an erotic fantasy while she polished a piano. In the audience there were about four of us who were minority writers, Asian American, Black, Chicano, Indian. It was really funny, because even though we were sitting apart from each other and not in communication, we all stood up and walked out at the exact same moment; we all had as much as we could take at that same moment. So relevancy is a lot of what Indian writing contributes. I don't see a sense of self, because the self is part of the world, not separated from it. They seem to have to invent an image of themselves that is different from their reality. Maybe they don't know who they are anymore.

In my creative writing classes at Berkeley, which were usually half Indian and half non-Indian, I used to do an experiment every semester where I would tell them to write about their "place," referring them to Scott Momaday's "A Man Made of Words" to come to some decision about what I meant by place. The Indians would describe, even if they'd never been there, what their reservation or ancestral lands smelled like, the texture of the air, what the ground felt like under their feet, in minute detail, and place themselves in it, describe it in the first person. Similarly, the Asian, Chicano or Black students and students from other countries would describe a natural place, outdoors, usually with no mention of buildings. White writers would do one of two things: Describe a place near or outside a building, naming the building, that maybe they had been to once where they had a good time; a hotel room near Waikiki beach, for instance. Or they would invent a place that they could not describe specifically because it was an abstraction. It struck me that those white students either had to have something man-made and transitory, or then had to imagine a place, because there was no place that they knew for themselves. I don't know if this is bad or not, but it's certainly different from my experience. I think the white students' ancestors did this to them by making them think they could become this place of America simply by moving here and claiming it.

AN: What is the power of words, or how do they obtain power?

WR: The words have power in themselves. That power is there to be used. A lot of people don't realize how much power is in just ordinary words, just in you and I sitting here and speaking to each other. It's only a conversation, but the words have power. This can be used to hurt people or to help people or protect yourself or allow yourself to be vulnerable. I'm speaking of this is a literal sense, not metaphorically.

AN: Do you think white attempts to appropriate "Indianness" must necessarily be mercenary or superficial? Is there any similarity between white experience and Indian experience, in a long-range sense, in what the white (or Black, Asian, whatever) individual has lost and what the Indian has lost?

(Continued on page 15)

American Indian Market — Dec. 6, 7, 8, Jan. 3, 4, 5 Caravan Travel Inn, 3333 E. Van Buren St., Phoenix, AZ 85008 (602) 244-8244.

Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with the Native People (CASNP) is planning a new Resource/Reading List to be sold across Canada, especially to schools and libraries. The 1982 book concentrated on the Six Nations and Ojibway books, etc. The new one will focus on books about the West, B.C. and the Maritimes. Native writers, educators wanted to submit work. CASNP, National Office, 16 Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2S7, Canada.

Researching and Writing Tribal Histories: A Workshop. Three workshops to be given in 1986. Write: Oklahoma Center for Continuing Education, the Univ. of Oklahoma, 1700 Asp Ave., Norman OK 73037.

1985 List of Alternative and Radical Publications. Over 300 listings. The Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Dept. L., Baltimore, MD 21218.

Festival of Hope. In anticipation of the trial of The Silo Pruning Hooks: Helen Woodson, Larry Cloud-Morgan, Paul and Carl Kabat. Sunday, Feb. 17th. For information 913-621-4285.

Trail of Tears Walk Being Organized. A walk to honor those Native Americans who suffered during the Trail of Tears and the Eastern Removal. Eufaula, Oklahoma. March 1st, 1986 through Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida July 6, 1986. The walk will also support the 10,000 Navajos facing relocation in a modern Trail of Tears. Write: Native Culture and Ecology Foundation, Inc., P.O. Box 2043, Tallahassee, Florida 32316.

Nuclear Free & Independent Aotearoa, Pacific Peoples Anti Nuclear Action Committee, Box 61086, Otara, Aotearoa. Just received this 1985 booklet, 82 pgs, on Pacific concerns from New Zealand, or Aotearoa as it is properly named.

Jan 24-Feb 23 86, FSU Four Arts, Communication/Alternative Expressions 86. FSU Four Arts, Inst. for Contemp. Art, Gov. Sq. 1500 Parkway, Tallahassee FL 32301 (904)644-1554. International Invitational, all forms of expression—audio, video, generative systems, computer art, performance, tabloids, books, correspondence art.) Reading area of alternative publications, send copy. No fees, no refunds (except SASE), exhibit material housed: Florida State Univ. School of Visual Arts, tue-sat 10-4, 7-9, sun 1-5, closed mon.

Political Artist Call for Entries

The Southeastern Massachusetts University Gallery is accepting entries for a Juried/Invitational Exhibition entitled "Evils of Power", which will open during the 1986-1987 calendar year. The exhibition is open to work focusing on Oppression.

OP-PRESS — 1. to subjugate or persecute by unjust or tyrannical use of force or authority.

Visual, Audio and Performance Artists Welcome. Please send clearly labeled cassettes, videos or slides with dimensions.

Entry Deadline: March 1, 1986.

Please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for the return of art material.

Send to: Robin Costa/Evils of Power, Design Department, Southeastern Massachusetts University Gallery, Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, MA 02747. For further information please call 999-8546.

Native Inmate Culture Group, federal prison in Arizona needs help, Kathy Straitt, POB 812, Phoenix AZ 85001. Drum group needs SHEEP-SKINS for drum, drum-sticks; also free Native publications, contacts, donations.

1985 Native American Film Festival, Dec 13-15. Museum of American Indian, Broadway at 155th St. NYC (212) 283-2420, Elizabeth Beim, public relations. Broken Rainbow, Hopi-Navajo dispute; Harold of Orange (with Charlie Hill, Minneapolis' Film in the Cities; The Longest Trail, Native American dance. Home of the Brave, Native leadership in north & south America; Message from Brazil; Aymara Leadership; Make My People Live, on Indian health care; Apache Mountain Spirits; also film/videos on Mashpee, Micmac, Crow, Panare, Ojibway/Cree, Maya and refugees, Alaska. Conference events by Native media people and film-makers.

Wanbli Ho, Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud Sioux Reservation, POB 8, Mission SD 57555. Simon Ortiz and Charlene Lowry, editors, have announced the rebirth of this Literary, Scholarly, Arts Journal. National Native publication, submit poetry, short fiction, scholarly articles, oral tradition texts, reviews, artwork; biannually, Native themes, issues, concerns.

Announcements/Lists

The University of California, Berkeley is inviting applications from American Indians and Alaska Natives to graduate programs and there is still ample time to secure information and applications and to file them on time.

Programs include law, journalism, business administration, engineering, education, forestry, natural sciences, architecture, city and regional planning, library sciences, public health, social welfare, public policy, and others.

February 1, 1986 is the closing date for receipt of applications to most graduate programs at the University of California, Berkeley. Further information can be secured by writing to the American Indian Graduate Program, 140 Warren Hall, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720 or calling (415) 642-3228 and asking for Elaine Walbroek or Georgia Makris.

October 10, 1985 — Dates for the "Gathering of Nations" Pow Wow and "Miss Indian World" Contest have been changed. The "Gathering of Nations" Pow-Wow is scheduled for April 18 & 19, 1986, at the University of New Mexico Sports Arena; better known as the "Pit".

The 1986 "Gathering of Nations" is expected to be the largest pow-wow in the United States. Over \$20,000. in prize money is being offered in the dance and drum competition. Over 1,000 dancers, from more than 200 Indian Reservations and Reserves throughout the United States and Canada are expected to participate. The Gathering will be featuring the "Miss Indian World" contest, along with one of the largest Indian Arts & Crafts markets in the Southwest. More than 20,000 spectators are expected to view this event.

Applications are now being accepted for the "Miss Indian World" contest. For more information on all activities, please write to: "Gathering of Nations, P.O. Box 75102 (49), Station 14, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87104.

Hawaiian Natives Need Support

On Land Rights, Cultural work; HOU HAWAIIANS, Vocational Farm Project, 550 Halekauwila #304, Honolulu Hawaii 96813 (808) 538-3511.

Iwalani Kaipaka, 135 S. Kuakini St, Honolulu, HI 96813. Thrown off land in Maui and Oahu, support needed, all manner of support needed NOW.

Todos Santos Cuchumatan: report from a Guatemalan village, a film by Olivia Carrescia, looks at one Mam village; through interviews with people as they go about their daily work we find how cash has become increasingly important to the people of this once subsistence farming community. Harvest, fiesta and the annual seasonal migration out of the mountains to work in the cotton plantations of the hot & humid lowlands. This film illustrates many of the changes which have been underway in Guatemala for decades & which form the backdrop to the current political response of the Indian peoples to the policies of the government.

"Neither narrative nor newsreel, but a documentary with a grounded humanness. A must for anyone interested in the situation of indigenous populations." John Attinasi, anthropologist. Blue Ribbon Winner 1983 American Film Festival. 41 min, color, 1982, Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave South, Suite 1319, NY NY 10003 (212) 674-3375. Icarus Films has 47 films & videos "chosen to communicate the evolving reality of South & Central America to North American audiences." Included is In the Name of the People, 1984 Academy Award nominee for best documentary feature, about the civil war in El Salvador. Many other films on Indian people and issues in Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, Chile, Colombia (Guambianos), Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru (Fire in the Andes, video on the guerilla war & the murder of journalists in Peru), Puerto Rico, Uruguay.

Also: The Real Thing—film about the Coca-Cola occupation by Guatemalan workers in 1984; Central American Peace Concert—music video from Managua 1983; For Export Only: Pesticides & Pills—2 films on products made in US but banned or restricted for use here, exported to Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, others. Camino Triste, hard road of the Guatemalan refugees—125,000 refugees who fled Guatemala into Mexico and ignored by the world's media.

The Power of Words
(Continued from page 14)

WR: In answer to your first question, no, absolutely not. There's no way we can't influence each other. In myself, if I can't differentiate what derives from my Indian ancestors of two tribes, and my white ancestors who are from several areas in Europe, then I don't see how I can talk about not being influenced. If you're referring to my criticism of white shamans, the issue is one of integrity. I think that the worst thing that can happen to people is what the white people did to themselves when they came here. That is, to cut off their roots in Europe. They arrived as if they'd been born again, suddenly just emerged as Americans, as if there was no culture or spiritual heritage from Europe. I think

in other cultures, it's because they've lost contact with spirituality in their own cultures. So they grasp at what's here, what's in the land, what is Indian. And it seems to me the elders are saying that you need to know who you are before you can find spirituality. You can maybe find emotional support, but not meaning, in joining a Zen community or Indian ceremonies or whatever. If you know who you are and your search takes you to India or Arizona or Japan, then you will find what you need.

The Creator put us all here for a purpose, in a particular place; we were given tools to live by, a means to know the Creator, which were all different because that's the Creator's way. When we think of our peoples in conflict it's because of what we humans put there, not what the Creator put there. People have spread out, or been forced out, so that they're in places where the Creator didn't put them, and that's part of the problem. People forget to take with them the less tangible things, the philosophy and spirituality values; they often leave those behind. AN: Your poetry reveals an awareness of a universal Indian presence, a presence both ancient and contemporary that connects the "now" to the past. This is both a torment and a salvation, it seems to me. Would you comment?

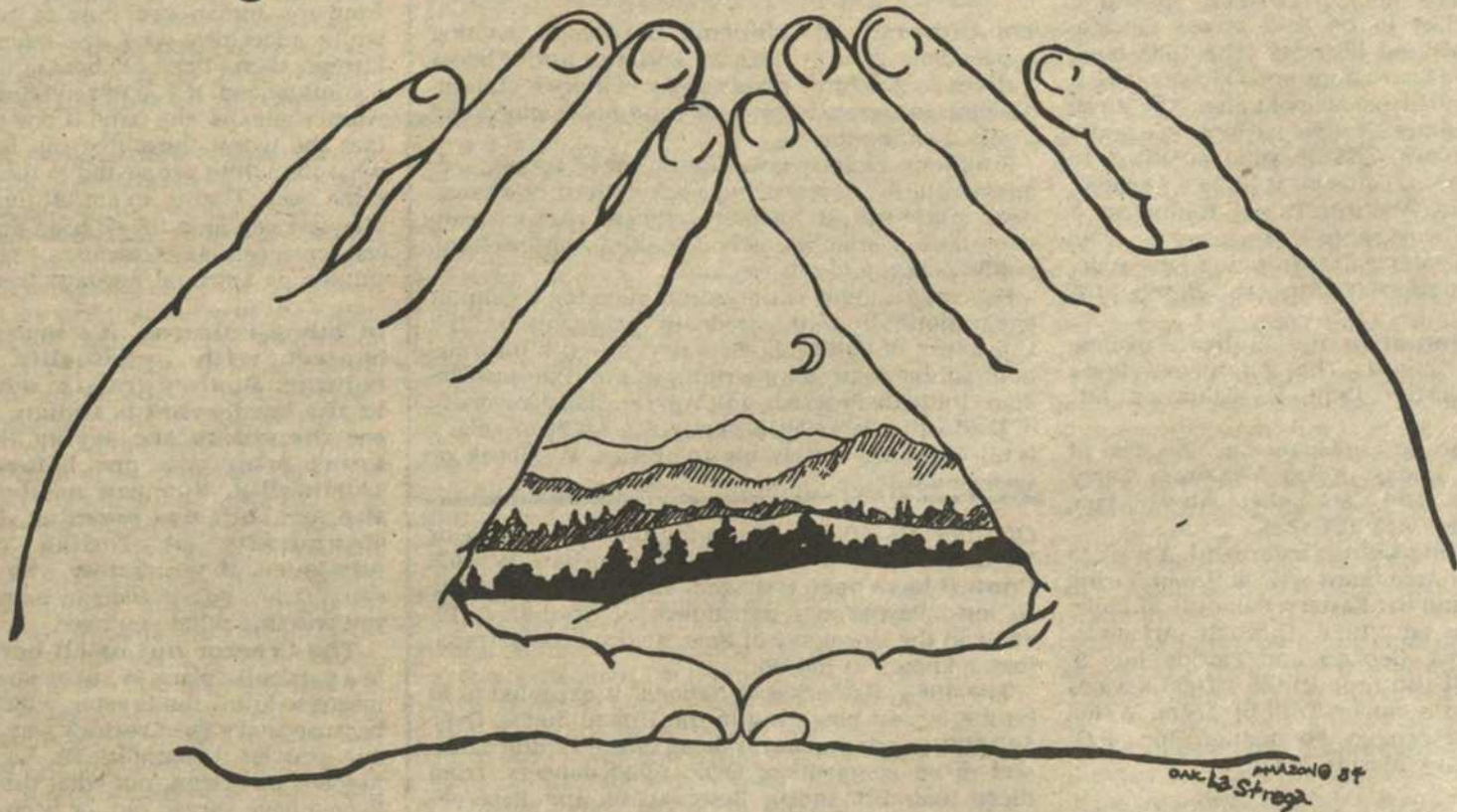
WR: Our ancestors are certainly still with us. There's that famous statement by Chief Seattle, which I can only paraphrase, to the effect that the white man will never be alone because everywhere on this land are our ancestors. We're very weak now, as individuals, in that we are only now beginning to relearn and understand again what it means to be a human being—even before what it means to be a member of a particular tribe. We have to turn our attention in this way. I think all people in the world need to do this, in their own ways; find out what it means to be from Northern Europe or a particular part of Africa or India or whatever. Get back to the time when it was understood that the Creator had a different purpose and different instructions for each people.

In my most recent book, due out in November, "The Halfbreed Chronicles and Other Poems," what is meant by the term halfbreed is a condition of life rather than a biological fact about an individual, so that some of "The Halfbreed Chronicles" are about people such as Robert Oppenheimer, who is not biologically halfbreed, but because of historical circumstances, choices he made, choices that were forced on him, all the different threads of his life, he is a halfbreed: being put in an impossible situation where you're automatically thrown out of balance, and your job in life is to rebalance yourself. Only when we become rebalanced as individuals can we possible hope to help rebalance the earth. The enemy is not a race or nation of people but the force of technocracy, capitalist enterprise, totalitarianism. And the elders are warning us we don't have much time.

Eku Mak Innu, Kassinu Mamu, 1985-86, (418) 962-1266, 962-0327. These are Innu (Montagnais) people from the North Shore of Quebec, they put on Survival School clinics, Sept-Dec 85, Jan-March 86, March-May 86. The Innu invited some Mohawks at the Malietenam Music Festival, Innu Nikamu in August 85; we were told about the Survival School program. They may come to Akwesasne for a visit and Skills-clinic in January. Although they speak mostly Innu and French, the skills and communication should be no problem with translators. We do have an address for the Music Festival people, who could forward any inquiries of the Survival School program. Malietenam (near Sept-Iles, Quebec) should also try a second Music Festival next summer-fall: Innu Nikamu, C.P. 133, Moisie, Quebec G0G 2B0.

Poetry

by Jack D. Forbes



The Murder of the Quiche by U.S. Puppets

All they ever wanted
was to be left alone
How can I say it so you will understand!
All they ever wanted
was to be left alone!

Fifty-two Quiche people
of both sexes
of all ages
hacked to death
the latest headline
in a scream that never seems to dim.

Oh stop it, if I could
I would
But all they ever wanted
was to be left alone!
Europe, they never wanted you!
Yankees, they have never desired
what you have
Can't you hear me -
All they ever wanted
was to be left alone!

They didn't want to mine the gold
so that you could melt it into
heavy bars to enslave
your own kind.
They didn't want to work on plantations
to create, with their blood
your industrial slums.

These millions you call
Indians
are slow to anger
slow to
rise
but rise they must.



I tell you, executioners,
your work is not forgotten
Guzman and Stoessner
Pizarro and Diaz
Pinochet and DeSoto
Lucas Garcia and Alvarado
Garcia Mesa and Somoza
We wait yet but
we wait impatiently now!

And we know who is behind it all
we know who pulls the strings
of the killer-puppets now
we know who gives them arms
and protects them
from the people.

All they ever wanted was to be left alone
But you have never listened.

Now what you have set in motion
in Chile and all of the lands
now in Guatemala
this terror like a malignant disease
is on its way north.

And, I remind you:
All they ever wanted was to be left alone!

Reagan's War Began in 1788

The war against Nicaragua and Guatemala began in 1788 when armed forces of the new United States were sent across the River Ohio to invade the lands of the American republics the lands of the people called Indians.

Yes, only five years after the Treaty of Peace with Brittan already the new government was ambitious to control and dominate the lands of others.

Many People have forgotten or don't want to remember that the sphere of influence claimed by the Yankees of New England and the Tuckaboes of the South the Long-knives as they were called, that sphere of influence was not then the Carribean and South America.

Thus it is that the wars began wars against brown and black people against red-brown and yellow-brown and tawny and olive-colored people against Indians and dark Spaniards and Mexicans, wars against the possibility of freedom wars for the expansion of slavery and capitalism and, of course, to get the land, always the land.

Now, it seems we have seen enough in 1988 we shall count off two hundred years of Chemokoman Long-knife aggression against the brown and colored peoples of America, North and South.

For it is true, as anyone with eyes can see, that the Nicaraguans and Salvadoreans and Guatemalans are Indians and brothers and sisters of the Shawnee, Delaware of the Wyandots, Miami of the Kickapoo, Ottawa against whom it started in 1788.



Two centuries of war against the Native Race against the Real Americans but the tide will turn and, yes, it is already flowing north, like the German and Celtic slaves flowed south when Rome seemed strong still the slaves were followed by armies and Rome fell.

Money is poor food for the soul and with empires the soul dies before the body, United States, can't you have neighbors without consuming them?



Then it was that the Yankees and Tuckaboes the Long-knives controlled only the coastal plains from New Hampshire south to Georgia and a few mountain valleys to the west but their dreams were of craving and conquest of money and land.

The Long-knives wanted more of Indians of the Americans of the Native People they wanted to steal the name of the land and they wanted to steal the land itself

The southern boundary of the U.S.A. was then not Venezuela and Panama but only Florida and the Creek Nation and then it was to enslave Africans and to capture free people of color that they looked south, and always the land, always the land.

And to the West, to control the Ohio and the Mississippi and to float barges to New Orleans and to break up Native alliances and to capture runaway Blacks, and the land, of course, always the land.

SPONTANEOUS COLONIZATION

Finally, one should mention that colonization which is carried out spontaneously and by individuals, is always somehow triggered in the end by the government's propaganda which continuously presents the Amazon as both uninhabited and the only way out for those who remain jobless.

It is in this context that the new roads have ended up attracting those colonists who have settled along the areas where they were being built and, at times, even when they existed as mere plans.

(e) Mineral Resources: Oil-Gold

One may indicate the following regarding the impact of the gold mining enterprises upon native communities. In legal terms, mining concessions are considered as rights to the subsoil, which stand aside from rights to either land or forests. This means that even when the indigenous communities of the Amazon obtain titles of property to their land and contacts for the exploitation of the forestry resources, this will not suffice to keep off the penetration of outside miners who have claimed subsoil rights in the same area.

One certainly cannot reach the subsoil without affecting the land and forests above. But the mining officials do not take into account such rights to the land above and many of our indigenous brothers who don't have titles to their lands, most as a result forego the compensation for any improvements which they may have made.

In Madre de Dios, a department located in the lowlands of south-eastern Peru, there is currently a great upsurge in gold mining. Yet only 4 indigenous communities out of an approximate total of 70 communities have titles to their land. The gold boom is thus severely affecting our indigenous brothers in this area.

Gold exploitation is subject to the Decree D.L. 22178, which was signed into effect on May 9, 1978. This legislation delimits the maximum extension of each mining claim to 1,000 hectares, while setting as 5,000 hectares the maximum limit of the total aggregate of concessions which any one claimant may have. Public officials and military men are not allowed mining claims.

Nonetheless, the reality of Madre de Dios shows us that the Regional Mining Headquarters of Puerto Maldonado (the capital of the department) has become a center of corruption where public officials and other persons who are close to the current regime in power, have gained control of the auriferous lands, in some cases through extension well beyond 12,000 hectares.

Among those with the larger mining claims in Madre de Dios, one may mention the DEOTEC Group of the engineer David Dallen Vera, who is former president of the Bance Minere (State mining bank); the family of a municipal official (& councilman) in the Province of Tambopata who is a member of Acción Popular, the current government's party, and various former ministers of the previous military regime of Morales Bermudez.

The following foreign companies have claims in Madre de Dios: Texas Gulf, Rio Fenix (a subsidiary of the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation which is based in London), and the South American Placer International S.A., of North American origin. There is an additional company which is large and belongs to the "Church of Christ and Later Day Saints," directed by the North American Mormon Steve Lafontaine.

A large number of small and medium sized gold mining firms also exist which obtain their labor force in the southern highlands and, in particular, Cusco, Puno, and Apurimac. In 1981 there were around 20,000 of these temporary migrants extracting gold in Madre de Dios.

The most immediate impact of the gold mining activities for our indigenous brothers in the communities of Madre de Dios has been the loss of their lands and natural resources. Nearly the total extension of indigenous lands have been claimed by outsiders. Every time that these, their contractors or other investors occupy the indigenous lands, the result is a severe depredation of its natural resources and, in particular, the erosion of the most fertile, agricultural zones. Amazonian soil tends to be poor, but gold is extracted from current and ancient river beds containing the most fertile soils to be found in the Amazon. As these soils are turned over and thus put to waste in the process of extracting the gold, all that is left afterwards is a vast extension of land covered with mounds of useless gravel.

Furthermore, large and medium-sized companies appropriate vast extensions of additional indigenous land in order to produce the various crops that help feed the personnel at work. Since these entrepreneurs never consider remaining in the area for

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any significant length of time, they neither worry about keeping a forested area to protect the soils nor about planting in association different crops (intercropping), among other measures that could be taken to insure the longterm productivity of those soils - something we indigenous peoples of the Amazon are careful to always observe since we need to keep the quality of our soils. On the contrary, such entrepreneurs tend to clear enormous extensions, where only one or two crops are cultivated in a rather poor and anti-ecological manner.

The future of our indigenous brothers in Madre de Dios is totally dependent on the development of the international political economy and, most specifically, the price of gold.

OIL

In the Peruvian Amazon there are currently two main areas where oil concessions are being worked: (1) The northern jungle area, where the Occidental Petroleum Company is at work in a region inhabited by our indigenous brothers belonging to the Achual and Candoshi groups. It is also through this zone that the electroduct which was built at the time of the military regime runs through.

Finally, the Peruvian government has secretly signed a contract with a consortium of companies which include Union Texas, Texas Producing, Texaco Canada, and Enserch Peru. The operations in this area (lot number 6) will greatly affect our indigenous brothers of the Achual, Chayahuita, Aguaruna, Murate, Shepra, Urarina, Chanoshi, and Kichwa Pastaza groups.

(2) The Royal Dutch Shell Company is operating in the south-eastern jungle area.

The Royal Dutch Shell Company has been carrying out explorations in an area of two million hectares in the southeastern lowlands departments of Cusco and Madre de Dios since 1981. It has found natural gas reserves in one of these blocks.

The Shell Company is currently negotiating for two more concessions: also of two million hectares. Among the lots under consideration are numbers 43 and 46, which include more than 50% of the Manu National Park and almost the total area inhabited by our indigenous brothers. If oil is extracted from this conservation community which is a real sanctuary of nature that is furthermore integrated into a unit of the UNESCO "Man and Biosphere" Program, there is the severe danger that violent conflicts will develop with our indigenous brothers who inhabit this isolated area, namely, the Yaminahua, Amahuaca, Machiguenga, and Pire, among others. There is in addition the serious threat that the environment be contaminated by the spill-over of hydrocarbons. On the other hand, the oil exploration leads to the creation of new routes of communication, the building of encampments, the blasting of explosives which drive away the animals of the forest, thus threatening indigenous sources of nourishment, and greatly troubling in general the populations inhabiting the area.

(f) Projects in Planning

Hydroelectric Projects

A Japanese Technical Mission is currently conducting an evaluation of the hydroelectric potential of the Ene, Marañen, and Huallaga Rivers.

A hydroelectric potential of 60,000,000 kilowatts was established for Peru in the past, including the feasibility of producing 328 million kilowatts per hour on a yearly basis. Of this total, 80% of the hydroelectrical production is projected for the upper Amazon region of Peru; that is, its sources would be the Marañen, Huallaga, Ene, Perene, Ucayali, and Inambari (affluent of the Madre de Dios) Rivers.

If the projected construction of dams is put into effect, the entire basin of the Ene River and part of the Perene, Tambo, and Apurimac basins would be left under water, thus affecting all of the communities along the Ene and Apurimac Rivers.

The building of dams would also be used, according to this project, to develop fishing, cement, and tourist industries in the region. The latter is perfectly consistent with the projected creation of a "Disney World" type of tourist park, where the government considers that the sole objective of us indigenous peoples who inhabit this area should be to pose as folkloric amusements.

Nonetheless, certain important technical aspects should be taken into account to prevent the execution of these projects, particularly the one along the River Ene which has advanced the furthest.

This is a seismic area. Consequently, a dam destroyed in this manner would flood a great part of the land belonging to our indigenous brothers. Furthermore, the ecological changes that would be occasioned by the destruction of forests and the creation of artificial lakes, while in part unpredictable, would also cause a change of climate not only in Peru but throughout the world as well.

One may see that such large-scale hydroelectric powerhouses have already been developed in Brazil where they have proven to be a total technical failure, in addition to having brought about the disintegration of the various indigenous populations located in those areas.

Finally, the River Ene project would generate electricity that would not be destined to the Amazon regions' populations. The energy would instead be directed exclusively to the larger cities of coastal Peru, including Lima, the capital.

The projected construction of a section of the Marginal Highway across the Manu National Park would also be very negative for the ecology and indigenous people of the Park.

The results of the Brazilian Transamazon Highway are indicative of the extraordinarily high maintenance costs that are occasioned by heavy rainfalls and the resulting erosion of the road itself along its margins. Furthermore, for as long as Bolivia does not build its own complementary connection, the building of a road on this side remains unjustified.

Finally, the delusive project of President Belaunde to build a canal that would interconnect by river the Urukamba-Ucayali and Manu-Madre de Dios basins would only open up the canal to river navigation by small crafts during the rainy season. In addition to not being economically justified, it would prove disastrous for the indigenous populations and the ecology of the Manu National Park, at the same time that the required volume of personnel, equipment, and explosives needed to dig the canal, including a lengthy route of access through the Park, would attempt against all protection measures and greatly affect its resources and indigenous inhabitants.

(g) Environmental Contamination

In the Peruvian Amazon the powerful insecticide DDT has been in use now for close to twenty years as part of the Program for the Eradication of Malaria organized by the Ministry of Health in coordination with the World Health Organization.

The Program consists of the periodic fumigation of our homes and surroundings in order to eliminate with the use of this powerful insecticide the Anopheles mosquito which transmits the disease.

We Amazonia indigenous organizations have recently begun to raise our voices of protest against the use of this insecticide due to the damaging effects which it is occasioning. We can affirm that among its results one finds the current proliferation of cockroaches. DDT also kills the crickets which normally feed themselves with cockroaches, thus keeping their numbers down under normal circumstances. Their abundance is now leading to the destruction of the roofs in our homes, which are palm-thatched and have become a favorite food of the cockroaches. Furthermore, those who spray are often persons insufficiently prepared for the task who after using the insecticide throw it away in streams. This contaminates the water, thus killing the fish which are an important source of protein in our diets.

We, likewise, complain because our domestic animals drink water in the areas surrounding our homes and after each spraying many of them die due to poisoning. The rain washes down the insecticides each time.

Additional health problems are created among those persons who after breathing absorb the insecticide in an area that has been fumigated and thus get sick. This is especially damaging to our children who tend to walk or crawl around the insecticide-impregnated ground.

We know out of our own experience that nothing is to be gained by spraying our homes since the mosquito mostly inhabits the forests. Besides, we indigenous peoples do not remain inside our houses at all times. We must go out to the forest in search of food; thus we are vulnerable most of the time to the mosquito's bite regardless of the spraying.

DDT is such a damaging product that its use has been prohibited in many European countries and in the United States. It nonetheless continues to be used in Third World countries such as Peru.

We therefore ask that the use of DDT be banned due to its harmful effects and that instead medicines to combat the diseases be made available to us.

Brazil: The Yanomami Indians

The Yanomami Indians in Brazil are still without a secure land base, in spite of government assurances made over three years ago that their lands were to be demarcated and despite clear evidence that uncontrolled invasion of their lands is having a devastating effect on their health and cultural survival. Pressure from mining interests to open up Yanomami lands to non-Indians is mounting. After a brief and unsuccessful airlift into the Surucucu area in the heart of Yanomami territory in February 1985, local businessmen are again planning a massive invasion by 3,000 tin miners. The survival of the Yanomami is threatened now as never before.

BACKGROUND

The 21,000 Yanomami Indians of the tropical forest border area between northern Brazil and southern Venezuela form the largest unacculturated Indian group in South America. Some of their 360 communities have still not been visited by outsiders. Nevertheless, many of the Yanomami have already suffered the shattering effects of direct and indirect contact with non-Indians. Since the 1960's numerous epidemics, of diseases previously unknown to these isolated Indians, have swept through large parts of their territory leaving hundreds of Indians dead. In 1973, the Brazilian government embarked on a road construction programme across the southern part of the Yanomami area which brought disease and death to hundreds more Indians. Agricultural colonization schemes and invasions by miners have since aggravated the Yanomami's problems, raising an outcry of protest from international agencies concerned for the Indians' survival.

Public pressure brought to bear on the Brazilian authorities has had only limited effect. Since 1968, at least 16 proposals for the demarcation of parts or all of the Yanomami's territory as an Indian Park or Reserve have been presented to the Brazilian authorities. Beginning in 1979, Survival International has been active in a major international campaign coordinated by the Committee for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, of Sao Paulo, to secure territorial security for the beleaguered Indians.

The Brazilian Indian agency, FUNAI, has itself drafted three proposals for the demarcation of Yanomami lands. In March 1982, in response to public pressure, the agency took the preliminary step of interdicting nearly the whole of Yanomami territory in Brazil but has subsequently failed to keep its promises to demarcate the lands definitively. In early 1983 FUNAI's powers were seriously curtailed

as authority for the demarcation of Indian lands was transferred to an Interministerial Working Group. But it was not until January 1985 that FUNAI drafted a new proposal (Decree 1,817), that accommodated these legislative changes, recommending the demarcation of 9.4 million hectares of Yanomami land as an Indian Park.

THE THREAT FROM MINING

While the authorities have delayed, the situation of the Yanomami has steadily deteriorated. Miners have begun to invade their peripheral territories in ever larger numbers and an increasingly well organized political lobby has waged a campaign, both through the media and the legislature, to open up Yanomami lands to mining.

The Federal Territory of Roraima has one of the fastest growing populations of any region in Brazil. In the past few years the territory has been flooded by *garimpeiros* (placer miners) with their eyes on the minerals that lie on Indian lands. In the centre of Boa Vista, the capital of Roraima, the most conspicuous monument is a statue of a prospector panning for gold.

Gold and diamonds were first discovered on Yanomami lands in the 1960s and in the mid-1970s cassiterite (tin ore) was discovered in the Yanomami's heartland, at Surucucu. Within a few months, the area was overrun by miners, who were eventually evicted by the authorities but not before tuberculosis, venereal diseases and deadly viral infections had been transmitted to the Indians.

Miners, local businessmen, local politicians (of both major parties) and their supporters at the regional and national level have been trying for years to have Surucucu opened up again to tin mining and gold prospecting. In February 1985, Surucucu was, in fact, invaded by force by a group of at least 60 men, some of them armed and, reportedly, in Army uniforms. The invasion was planned and organized by local businessman, Altino Machado, who had planned to take over the airstrips at Surucucu and airlift thousands of miners into the region. Five days later, the invaders were removed by the authorities, the airstrips in the area were closed and Altino Machado was arrested. He is now at liberty again, however, pending penal action for his part in the affair.

At the end of May, a meeting was held in Boa Vista, capital of Roraima, to plan a new invasion of Surucucu. One thousand miners and would-be miners were at this meeting. Altino Machado is again involved and has made TV announcements inviting the unemployed to the region and of other States to apply for miners' cards through the local Miners Association. The plan is to assemble 3,000 men in Boa Vista to carry out this new invasion of Surucucu.

THE LEGISLATIVE THREAT

While the direct pressure on the Yanomami's lands mounts, attempts to manipulate the law in order to legitimize the illegal invasions of Indian lands have proliferated.

Recent years have seen a steady erosion of the protective legislature regarding the Indians in Brazil generally (see *Urgent Action Bulletins BRZ/JAN/1984* and *BRZ/1e/APR/1984*). Simultaneously, congressional deputies of the preceding military government's PDS party for the Roraima area, have been particularly active in drafting legislation to open up the Yanomami area to mining.

Various draft laws have been proposed: that would allow tin mining at Surucucu (Draft bill - *Projeto de Lei - 1.179*); that would forcibly "emancipate" the Indians so that they would lose the special rights to land that the law presently accords them (Draft bill 2.465); that would prohibit all foreigners and missionaries from working in Amazonia with Indians, including those working on the health programme current among the Yanomami (Draft bill 3.941); that call for the suspension of the delimitation of Indian lands in Roraima and the creation of an *ad hoc* committee, including local congressmen, with special powers to evaluate Indian land claims (Draft bill - 4.147).

INDIANS SPEAK OUT

Menaced both by legal changes and by direct invasion, the Yanomami have responded by organizing parties to evict the miners illegally on their land, while others have spoken out, publicly demanding the recognition of their territorial rights.

"Our lands have not been demarcated. That is why we are being invaded by the whites who are taking gold from our lands and are bringing diseases and contaminating the Yanomami. We call the white man's diseases xawara. These diseases kill our people... We Yanomami want the demarcation of our Yanomami Park. A continuous area, that is very important to us Yanomami."

The new civilian government now faces a serious

and critical test of its goodwill towards the Indians in Brazil. Regional political forces are pressuring the government to release Indian lands for mining and development, while nationally and internationally the government is preoccupied by the crippled economy and massive foreign debt that are the legacy of twenty years of military rule. The survival of the Yanomami depends now, as never before, on decisive action by the Federal authorities to prevent the planned invasion of Yanomami lands.

CONTACT: Survival International

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Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 265-1077



Disappearances-Peru

AYLLU - Who we are. **AYLLU*** is a group of North Americans in solidarity with the National Association of the relatives of the detained and disappeared of Ayacucho and the emergency zone in the Andes of Peru. Formerly called the Committee of the relatives of the disappeared.

As of November 1985 the military attacks upon the innocent peasants of the Andes continues as before. The Association has formed a cooperative to make and sell art of clay. The Association continues under the human rights department of SERPAJ (Service for Peace and Justice-Peru).

The office in Lima address: AP 5602, Lima 100 Peru. Letters of encouragement are asked for since international support is helpful. Help is needed for food both at the office and hospitality center in Lima and at the Orphanage in Ayacucho. Write to AYLLU, Box 411, New Haven, Conn., 06502, 203-848-1022.

Soon, Quadaupe, secretary of the ASSOCIATION, will be attending the FEDEFAM meeting in Uruguay and a SERPAJ member in Cusco will be attending in WRL international meeting in India on December 18, 1985.

As the situation continues we are reminded of our own non-violent lives of resistance to militarization by this government. We recommend non-violent direct action against the nuclear first strike weapons and the intervention policy of the United States, for example, in Nicaragua. We expect a more complete report from Servicio in December.

*Quechua for Community, pronounced I-YOU.



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III. DEFINITION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

We indigenous peoples of the Peruvian Amazon hold the view that no outsider has the right to define who is one of us and who is not. We also do not believe that all of us define our members with the same criteria.

We all need the land and natural resources required to reproduce our own forms of economic production and social organization as a group of people. Beyond this, we reserve ourselves the right to define who we consider as a member and who we do not.

We consider that governments should not be the ones to define which groups qualify as indigenous peoples and which do not. We demand the recognition of our right to self-determination. We understand by this the possibility of making decisions regarding the use and control of our resources and the right to define for ourselves the indigenous quality of a population according to our own historical, cultural, and social values.

END

For more than twenty years, a "controversy" has sporadically swirled around a remote area of California and the relatively obscure group of Native Americans who claim it as their ancestral homeland. Although the actors involved (like the gigantic Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation) are often significant, the sustained struggle occurring within the so-called "Four Corners" portion of the Pit River region has tended to be generally eclipsed by better known Indian/federal/corporate confrontations. The occupation of Alcatraz Island, the takeover of the Mayflower replica, the Trail of Broken Treaties/Bureau of Indian Affairs occupation, American Indian Movement (AIM) altercations with police in Gordon, Nebraska and Custer, South Dakota, the occupation/seige of Wounded Knee, the "Peltier shoot-out," the so-called "AIM leadership of trials," the permanent AIM occupation of Yellow Thunder Camp, and the ongoing resistance at Big Mountain, Arizona are all far better known examples of indigenous militancy than is Pit River.

This paper, then, is an effort to provide an overview of the Pit River issues, presented in an accessible forum, and covering the perspectives of at least the major factions/interests involved for those concerned with contemporary American Indian Affairs. **Historical Background:** According to A.L. Kroeber, the Achumawi Indians, now known as "the Pit River Group," were a population of perhaps 2,500 to 3,000 during the mid-1800s. They had lived more or less in place within their northern California ancestral homelands since time immemorial, and were divided into some eleven bands, each of which was autonomous. Around 1860, the first (Anglo) settlers arrived and began to take up the choicest agricultural plots within the Pit River area. Shortly thereafter, the Indians were removed by action of the U.S. Army.

Such practices were considered at least theoretically legal by the United States due to a series of eighteen treaties negotiated with the California tribes, beginning in 1851, by a federal commission appointed to this purpose. Although these documents contained language related to Indian land cession (as well as reserved lands), their true standing in law has always been suspect insofar as none was ever ratified by the U.S. Senate (and were thus not consummated as legal instruments within U.S. Constitutional definition). Such vehicles of legalized expropriation have elsewhere been quite charitably dubbed as being "little more than real estate conveyances" wrapped in the mantle of international law.

That the treaties were never ratified seems due in large part to opposition presented by the California legislature. Arguing that reservation of any land for Indian use would be unprecedented and unwise, the majority report of the California Senate effectively stalemated the federal ratification effort. It is rumored that state representation even succeeded in having the treaties hidden in the archives of the Government Room in Washington, DC, pending resolution of their "difficulties."

In the more expedient estimations of the California State Assemblymen, "resolution" entailed payment of something less than \$1,000,000 for the virtual entirety of the state. In 1853, the U.S. Congress set the stage for the "legal" invasion of Pit River by non-Indians by declaring all of California to be Public Domain, as if the treaties had been ratified rather than a mere (unaccepted) cash offer having been extended. In so doing, it is arguable that the Congress violated Section 8, Article 1 of its own Constitution.

Meanwhile, efforts at pure extermination, such as the infamous "Round Valley Wars" of northern California, were being directed against the Indians. It has been credibly estimated that there were more than a quarter million indigenous people living in California during the period. By the time of the Enabling Act of 1928, under provisions of which a formal roll of California Indians was compiled, it was found that the number had been reduced by more than 90% (approximately 23,000 were recorded upon completion of the roll in 1933).

In 1944, after concerted efforts by reformist organizations such as the Commonwealth Club, and in the waning spirit of John Collier's "Indian New Deal," the United States Court of Claims awarded "the Indians of California" a lump \$17 million settlement for the reservations they had been promised as a part of treaty negotiations nearly a century earlier. Of this, some \$12 was immediately absorbed by "set-offs" for goods and services the government calculated it had already provided the tribes (after their basis of subsistence had been utterly eradicated). The remaining \$5 million was parceled out in \$150 increments to the 36,000 odd Indians whose name appeared on a role compiled during the early 1950s.

The Pit River Indian Land Claim Dispute in Northern California

by M. Annette Jaimes ©1984

...we are a small tribe of Indians that have never settled with the U.S. Government, and our position now is the same now as a hundred years ago. We rejected the Government's offer to settle the 47' an acre in 1963. And until we can get a fair settlement for our people and some land returned, we still own our ancestral land. We are not recognized nor do we receive any kind of service from the Government. How can we act like beggars to them when they haven't even paid for our land, but claim and use it as their own? We are like squatters on our own land. We are now occupying a small portion of our land that is held and claimed by Pacific Gas & Electric in an effort to force the title question. But without trial or any other presentation of proof of legal title by PG&E in court, the judge ruled in favor of PG&E having valid damage claims against us...

Marie Lego,
Pit River Legal Defense Fund

This "settlement" award was determined to be so ludicrous that both California Indians and non-Indians supporting organizations (again spearheaded by the Commonwealth Club) immediately filed suit under provisions of the Indian Claims Commission (established in 1946) for compensation or recovery of the approximately 91 million acres of California not included within the reservation areas. Their theory ran that, given that the treaties had never been ratified, forced land cessions had never been legal in the first place. Ultimately, in 1963, the Commission bore their case out in principle by making an award of an additional \$29 million against 64,425,000 acres. This was the amount of land remaining in the whole California landbase with reservation lands, Spanish and Mexican land grants and certain other parcels deducted.

A new roll of eligible recipients was ordered prepared by the U.S. Department of Interior and by 1972 its number had reached more than 69,000. Checks in the amount of \$700 each were duly sent to each of these, but in the interim a new dynamic had entered into play. Some of the Indians, notably a group concentrated in the "out back" around Pit River were refusing payment (at about .45 per acre) and were demanding the return of their land.

Arguing on the basis of the autonomy of the different bands of Achumawi within the tribal while, that at least certain of these bands had never agreed to cede or sell land, they demanded the establishment of a formal reservation for their exclusive use within the Four Corners of their traditional homeland; the tract they sought extended across nearly 3.4 million acres.

Actually, there was some precedent for this. In 1875, President Grant set aside several small reservations (typically called "rancherias") for Indians in southern California. These were given full trust patent status by the Act for Relief of Mission Indians in 1895. By 1930, another 36 rancherias had been established under federal auspices in northern California. After the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act became law, the number of reservations in California burgeoned, reaching 117 by 1950 (of course this counts everything from a one acre plot in Strawberry Valley to the 116,000 acre Hoopa Reservation in central California). Clearly, the California Legislature's "not one square inch of Indian land" posture was a thing of the past but, equally clearly, 3.4 million acres in a single reserve was/is another matter.

Nor was the position of the Pit River residents really as new as it must have seemed to many federal functionaries at the time. They had filed a Land Claims Petition before the Indian Claims Commission in 1955. As a concomitant of this action they had undertaken a formal census to qualify the petition and pass through the Trials of Liability (backed by ethnologists and anthropologists such as Kroeber, the census yielded a roll of 590 members of the Pit River Group). With this in hand, they had been able to secure the final Interlocutory Order from the Claims Commission placing them in Docket 347 (July 29, 1959) in Washington, DC.

The people of Pit River then hired an attorney, a Mr. Louis Phelps of San Francisco, to represent them

within the Commission process. However, in 1963, Phelps reached a "compromise agreement" proposed by Ramsey Clark (then Assistant U.S. Attorney General, for Land Claims) which was also approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The nature of the compromise was to effect a monetary settlement and merge the remainder of the Pit River case with the general California Indian Claims Docket (31-37). Such a "solution" was immediately rejected by the Pit River leadership.

Contending that they had not been informed, much less queried as to the acceptability of the proposal entered into in their behalf, the Pit River leaders asserted that they had received inadequate representation from counsel throughout the compromise negotiations. The BIA offered to stage a referendum by which to determine "true tribal sentiment" in the matter, and the Pit River people accepted, promptly delivering a result of 105 NO against 75 YES votes concerning settlement and claims merger.

The Bureau, nonetheless, did not fold its hand with this first-round loss. Securing the agreement of both Phelps and the Claims Commission, the BIA conducted an absentee ballot resulting in a 24 vote margin in favor of compromise. With that, the Bureau firmly ended the referendum, rejecting a demand by the Pit River opposition (who always considered that many of the absentee ballots were sent to — and returned by — "non-Pit River Indians") that a repolling take place.

As far as the government was concerned, at least the appearance of justice had been served. For the Pit River opposition, it had all been a hideous charade, another travesty marking the depths of white treachery. Relying again upon their traditional autonomy and the fact of their physical presence upon the disputed land, the opposition vowed to disregard the referendum as being as illegitimate as the 19th century unrattified treaties. Their objective was to continue their struggle for a reservation area.

The Federal Posture:

The United States entered the 1940s holding the virtual entirety of the area comprising its 48 contiguous states. Of the aboriginal land holdings within the same area in 1600, less than 3% remained under even nominal Indian control. In terms of socio-economic hegemony for the Mother Country, this was all well and good. However, times were changing, ideologically at least. Having consolidated the gains garnered from its continuous wars of conquest in North America, the U.S. had discarded the virulently imperialist Manifest Destiny doctrine marking the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, exchanging it for the liberal sophistry of Franklin Delano's neo-colonial policies.

This change of national image brought with it a compelling need to, if not exactly redress past wrongs, at least compensate the most evident victims of U.S. territorial expansion. This was all the more true in view of Roosevelt's insistent speechifying on the subject of "Nazi thuggery," while the German leader in question (correctly) pointed out that his ethnic and foreign policies derived largely from 19th century U.S. practice vis a vis the American Indian.

A means had to be expeditiously sought through which the federal government might plausibly "atone" for the "tragedy of historical errors" without ever exactly admitting their full dimension and, especially, without foregoing any of the tangible benefits accruing from resources "mistakenly acquired." The crux of the problem was/is how to insure an arguably legal post hoc extinguishment of aboriginal title to territories demonstrably gained through sheer force of arms. This led directly to a rapid escalation in U.S. internal policies providing "compensation" to victims able to show that they or their forerunners had been unjustly deprived of real property.

A (some would say *the*) compensatory method in extinguishing Indian title of land already seized and/or occupied by the federal government is through monetary settlement. This was the purpose of the Indian Claims Commission in its hearing of cases brought by various extant tribal groups in California and elsewhere in the nation. By most accounts, such as that of legal expert Monroe E. Price, the Claims Commission was quite optimistic that a satisfactory resolution could be achieved concerning the California Indians' near total disenfranchisement. More cynical, and perhaps more accurate, perceptions have noted that, "The expectation was apparently that the Indians in California would be grateful for any kind of compensation, given the nature of what they'd been subjected to over the past century."

The main problem confronted by the Commission in dealing with California seems to have been the

sheer proliferation of groups and claims involved. In the first instance, the very real time requirements of examining several hundred potential dockets to determine whether the nature of each given claim was appropriate for hearing could be projected as staggering. Similarly, the matter of who were the appropriate claimants to receive given compensatory awards promised to be equally complex, especially in a context such as that of California, where entire peoples had been effectively obliterated and crucial records had been intentionally "lost" or destroyed.

And again, while the costs associated with simply sifting through the debris wrought among indigenous people by the U.S. settlement of California promised to begin an endless spiral, a second tremendous financial consideration began to loom. With a myriad of claims, many of which promised to ultimately prove valid (and thus subject to the "fair and honorable dealing" called for in the Commission's charter) on the horizon the questions of how to devise a formula of "just settlement" in each case became a serious one. On the one hand, a truly equitable monetary compensation of each separate but legitimate claim offered the spectre of proving to be astronomically expensive. On the other hand, undertaking a pattern of extending obviously frivolous awards while keeping costs down threatened the possibility of undoing all the worthy public relations work the Commission was created to accommodate. It was the proverbial "sticky situation."

While groping for a way out of this maze, the Commission stalled admirably. Examining the fine details of a number of claims while hearing none of them, the Commissioners managed to put off both resolution and awards for nearly two decades, until an at least superficially plausible strategy had been formulated. A particular California settlement, *Thompson v. United States* (13 Ind. Cl. Comm'n 369, 1964) is instructive as to the method:

To facilitate the process of determining liability, a single plaintiff, the Indians of California, was substituted for the multitude of bands, tribelets and other...groups. Counsel for all groups agreed on a settlement of \$29.1 million which would be final payment for almost all claims arising before 1946. The Attorney General accepted the settlement subject to the approval of the Indian groups involved.

\$29.1 million, of course, is a considerable sum of money, readily salable to the general public as a fair settlement (especially in relation to the Indians' typical and easily observable impoverishment). However, as we have seen, its breakdown on per capita and price per acre bases represents a mere pittance, infinitely less costly than either settlement on a case by case basis or return of expropriated land.

By and large, the California Indians were prepared to accept settlement in any form as being better than nothing at all. Still, it has been noted that, "There was dissension, and the major group opposing the settlement was a portion of the Pit River Tribe in Northern California." This, to be sure, went to the already discussed nature of the Attorney General's "acceptance" of his own proposal and the methods employed to attain the Indian "approval" so blandly noted in legalistic description of the flow of events.

Also omitted from consideration is the fact that approval both of the pooling of a vast number of California claims and of the terms of settlement ultimately offered resulted in no small part from conditions of extreme duress created — whether intentionally or not — by the conduct of the Claims Commission itself. Well aware of the truth contained in the axiom, "justice delayed is justice denied," the 20 year delay imposed by the Commission in bringing even one California case to court caused an untold anxiety among many Indians, and a concomitant willingness to agree to anything which would bring matters to a head. In any event, the Indians were assured that delay was not working against the government; it, after all, was in control not only of the process, but of the land as well.

It is not that the federal apparatus was unwitting or unaware of the implications of its course of conduct. As even Senator Karl E. Mundt was prepared to explain the outcome of the California Claims Commission settlement, "The Indians went in empty-handed and came out stripped of their blankets." The same cannot be said, of course, of the growers, industrialists and merchants who had moved in to occupy the land of California's Indians. Specifically, the same cannot be said of the major timbering interests, the mineral exploration concerns and the gigantic Pacific Gas and Electric utility corporation which had moved into the Pit River region.

Response from Pit River:

In 1965, the year after *Thompson v. United States* and the Pit River opposition's announcement

that no settlement checks would be accepted, the people began a long series of legal and extralegal maneuvers intended to assert their right to the Pit River country. Led by Willard Rhoades and Raymond Lego, they put together a fund of \$1500 and replaced their attorney of record, Louis Phelps, with the celebrated San Francisco attorney Melvin Belli. Filing suit to force severance of the Pit River opposition's (calculated as comprising five of the eleven Achumawi bands) from the blanket settlement, Belli brought his case to court, only to be forced from the bar by the BIA which contended that it had not approved him as counsel for the Pit River Tribes and that he therefore "could not represent these Indians." Infuriated, Belli appealed all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, to have his case dismissed in 1969 due to the "inherent trust responsibility" exercised by the Bureau.

Undaunted, Rhoades and Lego turned their attention to the U.S. Forest Service, whose "timber leasing" (read: timber sales) practices were deemed to be both destroying Pit River resources and, because of heavy logging truck traffic traversing the area's unimproved roads, endangering Indian lives. Attempting to collect tolls on logging trucks moving to and from Shasta National Forest, the people were blocked by the Forest Service. Again filing suit (with a section demanding that the Forest Service show title to the land), they forced a compromise whereby the government paved all roads to be used by logging vehicles, thus simultaneously enhancing resident safety and limiting timber access routes.

For an extended period thereafter a sort of hiatus prevailed, with the government contending that the matter was resolved, and the Pit River opposition doggedly watched the Belli appeal wind its way through the courts. Then came the 1969 Supreme Court dismissal and a provision that the "Legitimate Pit River Nation," as the opposition now termed itself, had no alternative but to accept settlement checks at a per capita rate of \$656. A series of emergency meetings were held in Lego's home to decide what action to take in confronting this new circumstance.

In June 1970 it was determined to undertake the physical occupation of a symbolic tract of land in order to dramatize the situation at Pit River (this was in the wake of the Indians of All Tribes occupation of Alcatraz Island). Led again by Rhoades and Lego, about a hundred Indians (apparently Wintu as well as Achumawi) moved to take their first choice, an approximately 800 acre plot of Lassen National Forest. Word of what was intended had, however, leaked and the party was met at the forest boundary by a large force of riot-equipped local police, sheriff's deputies and federal marshals, the leader of which announced over a bullhorn: "The park is closed, and I close it under the authority given to me by Congress!"



L. Davis

Not seeking a pitched battle, Rhoades and Lego led their "troops" to their second target of opportunity, the Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation's camp at the Big Bend of Pit River (a small portion of the 52,000 odd acres "owned" by PG&E in the area.) Here Lego read a proclamation he's specifically prepared for the occasion:

Don't feel you're a stranger here.
This is your land. This is my land.
This is Indian Country.
My ancestors lived here.
The Great Spirit planted them here,
Just like he did the oak trees and the water.
Feel welcome. Let your spirit be free.

Promptly the next morning, a task force of eighty-six sheriff's deputies arrived to "restore order." Lego informed them that they were in Indian land and, unless they could produce a deed to the property, they should leave. Along with thirty-five other members of the occupation group, he was then arrested for trespassing and taken to jail.

At the arraignment the following afternoon, lawyers representing the 36 defendants made motions to dismiss charges against their clients, to acquit them on the basis of false arrest, to establish the unconstitutionality of the intended prosecution and a motion to prosecute Pacific Gas and Electric for wrongful occupancy of the land in question. The motions were each either taken under consideration by the court or denied out of hand, the defendants posted bond, and immediately returned to the PG&E camp, reoccupying it that evening.

The next morning brought a replay, with 18 Indians arrested. After arraignment, they moved into the original target area in Lassen National Forest, were joined by Indians of All Tribes leader Richard Oakes and a contingent of his Alcatraz occupation group, and twenty-two more (including both Rhoades and Lego) were arrested for "starting a fire without a permit." By this point, bail monies were becoming a serious problem and Native American recording artist Buffy Sainte-Marie provided timely cash assistance.

The necessity of significant numbers of people having to make a hundred mile daily commute to stand trial was also looming as a major logistical problem. Hence, it was decided at a Legitimate Pit River Nation community meeting in October, 1970 (also attended by Oakes and his delegation) to occupy another parcel of land located much closer to the trial site in Burney, CA. This one was another PG&E property, and located within the Four Corners area itself. It precipitated what came to be known as "The Battle of Four Corners."

By the second day of the occupation, a large sign had been posted at the entrance to the property proclaiming the area as being a portion of the Legitimate Pit River Nation, a community kitchen had been established and a dormitory quonset hut (provided,

unwittingly, by the federal government) was being erected. On October 27, the roughly 150 person Indian occupation group was attacked by a group of perhaps 400 heavily armed police, sheriff's deputies, federal marshals and U.S. Forest Service personnel who were plainly spoiling for a fight and affronted at the Indians' persistence.

As there were women, children and elders within the camp, both the Pit River men and Oakes' Alcatraz group set about defending themselves as best they could with tree limbs and 2x4s (no guns). They were, of course, beaten up and hauled away to jail on charges ranging from simple trespass to assaulting an officer.

Things moved better on the legal front, however. On June 14, 1971, 29 defendants accused in the Big Bend occupations were acquitted in California State Court. Five more (including Lego) were convicted, but of only simple trespass (more serious charges having been dropped), and were given probationary sentences. Of 108 charges filed relative to Big Bend, only 14 resulted in convictions of any sort, and none in jail terms. On March 30, 1972 this was followed by the acquittal on all counts of the five men accused of assaulting federal marshals at The Battle of Four Corners; all charges against the remaining defendants were dismissed. As one juror put it afterwards, "What struck me was that the government simply had no case...they just wanted these people put away."

Meanwhile, on February 14, Lego led an occupation group back into the Four Corners location and established a semi-permanent camp there. This time there was no opposition from law enforcement personnel, and the trial victories from the Four Corners cases were celebrated there. This was coupled to the sustained occupation headed by Rhoades (and begun in July, 1971) of a 900 acre tract of PG&E property near Big Bend. The corporation, which used the land only as collateral on bank loans, made no attempt to force physical eviction, though it did enter a civil action to enjoin the Pit River leadership from effecting further occupations.

The new "leniency" exhibited by both government and corporate interests relative to Pit River occupations was no doubt linked to their singular lack of success in criminal court. However, the overriding reason for their sudden wariness in pushing matters was more probably associated with a battery of legal actions undertaken by the Pit River people to bring the issue of land title squarely into civil court. Yet another attempt to reopen the settlement was dismissed by the Supreme Court in 1971, but it was followed immediately by a suit seeking return of all PG&E held land. A petition was also filed with the Federal Power Commission requesting that agency to refuse renewal of the corporation's dam operation licenses until such time as PG&E demonstrated legal title to the land on which the dams were built.

Further, on October 26, 1971 the Pit River Tribal Council filed a suit for \$4 million in damages with both the Shasta County (CA) and federal courts resultant from the Battle of Four Corners. With both the government the corporations evidently on the defensive, Raymond Lego led yet another occupation, this time of a Kimberly Clark Corporation holding near his home at Montgomery Creek. Again, there was no attempt at forced eviction.

As Lego and Rhoades (and Chief Charles Buckskin) defined it at the time, the Legitimate Pit River Nation was proceeding on the following premises:

- 1) Ancestral tribal lands have been occupied in use by tribal people since time immemorial. This original right cannot be abrogated by any illegal seizure.
- 2) The question of 18 unratified treaties that were not passed by Congress (must be addressed directly in terms of their ability to convey "legal title").
- 3) All other laws and statutes pertaining to tribal lands.

For example:

a. U.S. Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 8), "The Congress shall have the power to...regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes."

b. Title 25 (US) Code 194 (Trial of Property; Burden of Proof), "In all trials about the right of property in which an Indian may be a party on one side, and a white person on the other, the burden of proof shall rest upon the white person, whenever the Indian shall make out a presumption of title in himself from the fact of previous ownership."

Given the rather obvious legal basis for many of the Pit River people's contentions, and faced with a veritable barrage of court actions, the government tried another — and perhaps last ditch — tack. Spreading the word that the cashing of checks associated with the California Indian Claims settlement would have no effect on other litigation efforts, the BIA finally got a substantial number of Pit River

people to accept their per capita payment regarding the California merged settlement. The government then posted that the cashing of such checks constituted approval of the contested claims merger.

Before the opposition could effectively respond to third latest federal maneuver, the Department of Labor entered the fray with an offer to transfer the abandoned Toyon Job Corps site (earlier occupied by a group of Wintus) to clear Pit River title and control. This was done on May 26, 1973. With that, Tribal Council Chairman Micky Gemmill — admittedly weary of the extended conflict — announced that he felt the Pit River demands had been satisfied, thereby splitting the opposition itself into "Council Backers" and "Hold Outs" (led, as always, by Lego and Rhoades).

By 1975, the Hold Out faction numbered only about 100, and the single remaining occupation site was the Kimberley-Clark location at Montgomery Creek (near Big Bend). However, in 1979, the group retained experienced Indian rights attorneys Abby Abinanti (Yurok) and Amos Tripp (Karuk) and Lego led yet another occupation of a 900 acre PG&E tract near Big Bend. At the time of his death on June 13, 1980, he was still refusing to honor a court ordered evacuation of the property, or to acknowledge corporate offers of compromise.

As his wife, Marie, put it in mid-1983, "...why is there such a document such as the Constitution of the U.S.? and why should the U.S. try to offer to settle? and why would the U.S. have to use all means of crookedness and fraud to dispossess us of our land?...No corporation holding ancestral land has shown in court that land has been legally acquired from the Indian people...So this is the way it is today, we have no lawyer, no legal defense of any kind, and no means to hope that we might have, but we'll still try to get some measure of justice for our people, whether it be a hundred years or a thousand." Clearly, the struggle goes on.

Conclusion:

The Pit River case holds an importance far beyond the level of acclaim and attention it received. In a number of ways, it may rightly be viewed as a seminal course of action, the first of its kind undertaken by a given tribal group in this century (as opposed to Alcatraz, which was decidedly the result of a "Pan-Indian" effort). In conclusion, we would like to briefly review what might be viewed as several primary areas of import.

First, the stand taken by the Legitimate Pit River Nation would seem to have had a galvanizing effect upon many northern California Indians who, as a generalized group, seem to have been strikingly demoralized and desolate by the 1960s. Unlike Alcatraz, which sparked a good deal of pride among the younger members of the same community in being generically Indian, Pit River instilled a sense of the worthiness of being a California Indian. This, in turn, may be said to have yielded a not insignificant impetus to the reemergence of certain identifiable indigenous communities in northern California during the second half of the 1970s.

Second, the focus of the Pit River struggle, while concentrated largely on the various levels of non-Indian government (local, state and federal), opened up a substantive degree of direct action against corporate targets for the first time. After a considerable lag, such analysis and lines of activity were adopted by Native American activists virtually across

the board, and may now be termed as salient among coalition efforts such as the Black Hills alliance, Big Mountain Support Group and, to a certain extent, AIM.

Third, the method of occupying locations directly associated with given tribal historical interests and/or treaty rights (as opposed to symbolic targets such as Alcatraz, the Mayflower or the Bureau of Indian Affairs building) was pioneering. Again, after a considerable lag, such an approach was broadly adopted by Indian activists, being most notably pursued at the Point Conception (CA) take-over of PG&E property in 1978, the Dakota AIM (ongoing) occupation of 880 acres of Blacks National Forest land/establishment of Yellow Thunder Camp in 1981, and the ongoing resistance to forced relocation being practiced by traditional Navajos in the Big Mountain area of Arizona.

Fourth, the tactics employed by the Pit River people eventually refocused Indian activist intellectual attention towards theories of extralegality, not in terms of civil disobedience in the sense that it is conventionally understood, but as a means of employing the American juridical tradition in its own terms (eg: illegality ultimately rationalized by law.) Such a novel articulation of U.S. legal theory and practice — from the typical academic viewpoint, at least — has tended to stand Native Americans in rather good stead within the international forums approached by groups such as the International Indian Treaty Council.

Fifth, the level of sustained resistance offered by the Legitimate Pit River Nation informed an entire generation of American Indian activists that the nature of indigenist or anti-colonialist struggle in this hemisphere can be and must be long-term and "on the land." This is as opposed to an early AIM tendency (circa: 1968-1972) to pattern its activities after the short-term, urban based model of many "new left" groupings.

Sixth, the refusal of the Pit River people to simply roll over in the face of adversity and pat legalistic answers to their demands has given call for even many "mainstream" legal scholars to rethink the issues raised by the case. Hence, the following observation now appears in a standard legal text in reference to the California Claims Settlement:

The proposed settlement is based upon an unjust and unrealistic evaluation of the lands they formerly occupied and does not take into account the four factors so necessary in a case of this kind...namely: a. what the Indians of California owned, b. what was taken from them by the (U.S.), c. what was given back to them...in reservations and allotments and benefits, d. what the (U.S.) should now give (them) in the form of a money judgement which would restore to them what they should have received but which was denied them up to this time, and lastly the high revenues not being received by the State of California from land granted to (it) by the (U.S.) and from lands still owned by the (U.S.) in the state...from oil, gas, potash, and other minerals and timber in the National Forest...

Finally, however, the most significant contribution made by the simple people of the Legitimate Pit River Nation may have been one of the spirit, a spirit of fierce determination perhaps best expressed by Marie Lego in a letter to the author (1/12/79). "America," she wrote, "cannot show me the terms of my surrender."



Throughout predictable cycles in the short history of the United States, Indian nations, tribes, communities and people are subject to new forms of the old pressure to assimilate. From the earliest presence of the colonies, the European influence in politics, values and economy has produced manufactured goods of civilization. Pots, knives, guns, traps, axes and other implements of work, later turned to war. The same influence produced missionaries, christianity, and changes in values and institutions which in turn undermined older values, life styles and means of transmitting knowledge. Within recent generations, it has produced elected leadership and institutions of Indian governments that reflect United States institutions.

This history of United States law is a study in expediency as it pertains to Indians. Educated non-Indians are aware of this and even Indians are tired of hearing about 400 broken treaties. Assimilative federal legislation is announced as, 1) for protection of Indians, or 2) for the granting of the full benefits of U.S. citizenship to Indians. Cases decided by the United States Supreme Court annunciate legal principals that continue to formally diminish the internationally recognized powers of Indian governments and rights to life and land. From *Johnson v. MacIntosh* in 1813 to *Rice v. Rehner*, 1983 the trend has been steadily against the Indians. When it is considered that more Indian cases will be decided in this decade than ever before, one can hardly expect the Supremes to suddenly change the inertia of their own history. It is obvious that things don't look good for Indian people in 1985 and the foreseeable future.

Presently, the institutions of the United States are again focused against Indian people. As a specific example of this, one has only to consider the present phenomena of Indian bingo. This phenomena includes other forms of gaming, but bingo is the most common form of the phenomena. As might be expected, it is a two edge sword. It has worked for and against Indians. Nor is it surprising that the exposure of success has drawn the threat of federal regulation, local and state government enmity, and, of course, lawyers and consultants like flies on you know what. The "real" danger, says the U.S. government is "organized crime or criminal elements". Finally, it will not come as a shock, to Indian people, at least, that more noise and proposed solutions will come out of Washington touting the evils of Indian bingo than Congressional attention to the ruinous national debt of the United States, or hungry people, or sick people.

In 1982, President Ronald Reagan announced his Indian policy. This policy of course, follows a long line of Presidential Indian policies; tracing all the way gaming in Indian country. This had been precipitated by the U.S. Justice Department's attempt to pass a law that would have granted to the states, jurisdiction over such activities. The rationale of that law was; 1) that tribal gaming was susceptible to infiltration by criminal elements, and 2) that tribal governments were unable, i.e. incapable of regulating, i.e. controlling, operating or protecting their own activities. However, such are the vicissitudes of American politics that this particular offense to Indians was remised by former Secretary of Interior James Watt. Secretary Watt, for reasons unknown, is said to have stopped the enactment of that law and directed the formation of the Indian Gaming Task Force. This is akin to the passage of the Indian Self Determination and Education Act of 1973 by President Nixon before he was so rudely pressured to quit. This act, now known as P.L. 638, enabled the growth of tribes in ways that could not have been imagined by the conservatives of that day. 638 has been responsible for the increased powers and successful legal assertions of sovereignty more than any other federal law in memory. Thus, by two political fortuities, one of incalculable magnitude, and one whose result is still to be determined, Indian people have benefited. Accidents will happen!

In 1982, President Ronald Reagan announced his Indian policy. This policy of course, follows a long line of Presidential Indian policies; tracing all the way back to George Washington who promised the Oneida's that they would be secure in the possession of the tribal lands forever. Reagan's policy made no such promise, stating only that his government would preserve a "government to government" relationship with Indian governments. Such Presidential Indian policies have been consistently sincere, and duplicitous. He then formed the President's Commission on Indian Reservation Economies, which when it finally reported, was soundly, widely, and appropriately repudiated by nearly every Indian who read it. As with the history of "Indian Commissions", Reagan's commission took its place behind the

BINGO— GAMING— GAMBLING: Does Economic Development Equal Assimilation?

by Shayhyu'hati'
Turtle Clan, Oneida



BINGO!!



(We are printing this in hopes of feedback. What do we think of bingo and its false hopes of future security? Better yet, what are other valid economic possibilities for the future of Indian people? Ed.)

American Indian Policy Review Commission of the 1970's. The earlier commission had the audacity to criticize and condemn laws, regulations, policies and practices of the United States regarding Indians, and substantiate them. It had the further audacity to make sweeping and even reasonable recommendations for the improvement of these laws, etc. The findings and recommendations of the AIPRC filled volumes, which were obviously ignored by Reagan's sloganeers who decided that reinventing the wheel was a more suitable Indian policy in the 1980's.

President Reagan has only two years left, but the damage of his administrative Indian policies will linger like funky cheap perfume, irritating and annoying, but no more surprising than the policies of his predecessors. The sum of these policies is more

like a Chinese water torture. The specific things that can happen are: 1) Reagan's naming of some more Rehnquist-type conservatives to the Supreme Court and other federal courts, 2) extension of the Indian Government Status Tax Act, 3) land claims settlements, a/k/a Penobscot, Pequod, Cayuga, 4) support of states rights legislation extending civil, criminal and governmental jurisdiction over Indian governments on the reservation, and 5) promulgation of regulations, opening the door of state and local government interference in Indian government decisions. These things are bad enough, but like abstract sin, they need some willing accomplice-victims. Guess who?

Probably the most dangerous part of this scenario is the ignorance that prevails among the Indian people themselves. This is compounded by cynical attitudes of Indians who know better exploiting those who naively, are still looking for justice or just plain don't know or understand the historical continuum upon which we stand. Indian bingo and gaming is a good example.

Throughout Indian country, Indian governments are being hustled by gaming experts, consultants and attorneys into bingo, card houses, casino gambling and various forms of gaming schemes that will "make them wealthy". In some areas of the United States, some Indian governments have been very successful. But, as Paul Harvey says "the other side of the story" too often shows that gaming operations have destabilized Indian governments, produced no benefits (\$) for the tribes, and created false expectations of the people, among other things. Soon, the Indian experts, consultants and lawyers got on the same bandwagon with the same results. Now, on some reservations, bingo halls are vacant. Now, tribes are held out by news media; 20/20, CNN, Jack Anderson and others as incompetent to manage their own affairs and victims in need of protection. This same media refused to tell the whole story, focusing instead on stale but sensational stories. The *de ja vu* feeling is strong at this point and Indians must flinch ideologically, recalling past "protective" actions of the U.S. government on our behalf. Treaties, the prophetic Indian Intercourse Act, the Dawes Allotment Act, the Indian Civil Rights Act, the Indian Government Status Tax Act ad nauseum. The syllogism is this: major premise; Indians are being subjected to evils (they're making or have too much money), minor premise; we, (U.S.A.) have a duty to protect Indians from evil. Conclusion; therefore, we'll take their money for their own good. Or, here Indian, have a drink. You're drunk, give me your money.

Sometimes we deny our own assimilation and greed factors. Our views of success are often assimilated as demonstrated by the things we want, such as shiny new cars of various types, glamorous clothes, even to make our appearance as "white" as possible. Of course, this isn't the fault of any individual, nevertheless the pressures of American society often distract from our Indian responsibilities. The topics of our discussions are their topics; AIDS, baseball, football, basketball, politics, weather, movies, celebrities, etc. The antidote to this predomination of conscious events and phenomena is knowledge. Yet even that is relegated to times when "work, school, etc." is done. Thus, assimilation is not always a conscious choice, but rather the biggest, if not only, game in town with few options.

Greed is related, but different for it strikes all societies and is based upon infantile wishes that have not matured. Greed makes otherwise sensible people think they can get something for nothing, and to believe people who promise such things will be easy. Greed makes people believe in results without work. Greed makes people impatient and careless, and easy pickings. Greed makes people jealous and envious and insecure. Greed makes people think that "economic development" will cure all of our ills. And, greed makes people think that bingo is more than a game, and that gambling is a prudent investment. Greed causes arguments and leads to blood fueds. Murder has been committed by people protecting "their" property, fights too numerous to mention, and bad-mouthing that would shame the average gossip. Look at tribal criticisms that impales the "greed" of this leader or that, implying more wrong doing than it can prove. Economic development can easily be twisted into greed.

This cycle of American history will show that Indians were induced to assimilate in the name of economic development and that bingo, gaming, gambling wars were only one small battle in the war that has gone on for centuries. We must be careful about what we assimilate, be it education, economic development, religion, attitudes or iron pots. The consequences are too great to ignore.

Polar Sea Voyage: Trespassing on Native Homelands

25 September, 1985

Thomas Niles,
U.S.A. Ambassador to Canada

Dear Ambassador Niles;

The voyage last summer of the Polar Sea through the Inuit homeland of Nunavut has brought into focus some issues about which we want to describe our views. CASNP supports the position of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, both in regards to the failure of the American government to acknowledge adequately Inuit right in the Arctic, as well as the failure of the Canadian government to safeguard Inuit interests more actively. (See *The Globe and Mail*, 10 July, 1985). That the voyage of the Polar Sea in Canadian waters was planned without proper requests by U.S. officials is a symbol of the disrespect which has aroused such strong feelings not only among the Inuit, who have most at stake, but among Canadians of all backgrounds. You will recall that the unwillingness of Canadian officials to represent this sentiment prompted some Inuit to join other Canadian citizens in a foreign policy initiative outside the framework of the federal government. Because of the numbness of your government to the will of Canadians, it became necessary to drop an unequivocal message onto the deck of the Polar Sea. The incident demonstrates that there are some in Canada who can and will take collective initiative against American expansionism when Canadian government officials seem uninclined to take the required action.

The relationship of the Inuit to the Polar Sea incident raises some broader issues of particular interest to members of CASNP. Be advised that the question of Aboriginal jurisdiction over lands in Canada remains a largely unresolved issue. In most of British Columbia, the Yukon, the North West Territories and the Maritimes, Aboriginal land title remains uncompromised. In most of Ontario and the prairie provinces, and more recently in parts of Quebec, treaties have been signed with the resident First Nations people. But there are many aspects of these treaties which remain unfulfilled by the Canadian government. A process was begun in 1973 supposedly to resolve these matters, but for the most part the resulting forums of "negotiation" have become little more than vehicles of institutionalized procrastination behind which the federal and provincial governments in Canada can hide their unwillingness to resolve fairly long outstanding injustices.

Therefore, given the nature of the unresolved relationship between Aboriginal and Crown land title in Canada, the federal government lacks the ethical authority to enter into any kind of new agreements with our government which pertains to the control of natural resources. Accordingly, be informed that any deals which the Mulroney government might strike with the U.S.A. on matters such as free trade, land leasing or water selling, and investment in the resource sector of the Canadian economy, are subject to the enormous uncertainties which will continue until acceptable agreements are reached on Aboriginal lands questions. Because the federal government, as detailed in section 91(24) of the British North American Act, carries explicit responsibility for issues concerning "Indians and land reserved for the Indians" (as well as the Inuit), it falls principally to your colleagues in Ottawa to correct the current unsatisfactory situation. And yet they seem intent, as the Mulroney government demonstrated during the First Ministers' conference of April 1985, to twist constitutional principles so as to enlarge the jurisdiction of resource-hungry provinces over Aboriginal lands. The aim of this process is being misleadingly described as Aboriginal "self-government."

If the federal government insists on bartering resources which have not been established as legitimately under its control by Canadian and international law, more episodes like that surrounding the voyage of the Polar Sea are possible. Be aware of our firmest resolve to see just solutions prevail over these issues which for too long have been the subject of perverse abuse by the legal system in our country and yours.

Sincerely, Tony Hall
Canadian Alliance in Solidarity
with the Native Peoples (CASNP)

Address: National Office, 16 Spadina Road, Toronto,
Ontario M5R 2S7, (416) 964-0169.

Short Notes

Forest Service Stalling on Caribou Program

The Forest Service has put a hold on a plan to supplement the one remaining caribou band in the lower 48 states with animals from Canadian herds. The three-year relocation program, originally slated to begin this winter, would transfer 8 to 12 Canadian animals annually to a herd of about 25 mountain caribou which still roam a small corner of northern Idaho and northeastern Washington.

Reportedly bowing to pressure from the local timber industry, the Forest Service has postponed the program until next winter at the earliest. Forest Service officials say they need more time to study the effect the caribou may have on the environment. Mountain caribou are an endangered species, and certain logging practices would be restricted in their critical habitat areas until the population recovers.

The program has the support of the federal Fish & Wildlife Service, the Idaho Fish & Game Department, the Canadian government, Idaho Senator James McClure, and the International Mountain Caribou Technical Committee, a broad-based group of environmental and wildlife groups. Supporters argue that since clearcutting of timber, a common practice in the region, is already prohibited in caribou habitat, the addition of more animals to the herd will not seriously interfere with commercial logging.

Source: *Sierra Club National News Report*



Tiyospaye

**Sharing - Caring - Helping
with a program that is restoring dignity,
encourages self-sufficiency and offers
hope and direction.**

The Tiyospaye Crisis Center, a crisis center for Native Americans, was licensed in Colorado in 1981. Founders, Walter Littlemoon, a Vietnam veteran, and his wife, Muriel Ashmore, operate the non-profit organization in their home in Denver.

Tiyospaye is a Lakota Sioux word that means extended family. The people of Tiyospaye have extended help to their brothers and sisters at Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The plight ... Walter's homecoming

The publicity surrounding the FBI takeover of the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973, established Wounded Knee as a symbol of the Native Americans' fight for freedom. But, conditions there have deteriorated to the point that Wounded Knee may become today's symbol for genocide in our own country.

On Thanksgiving, 1981, while Littlemoon, an Oglala Sioux, returned to Wounded Knee, his childhood home, he was shocked at the impoverished conditions he found. He learned that little had been done to relieve the conditions that preempted the 1973 crisis. It was Thanksgiving and his relatives and their friends and neighbors were starving. They had no plumbing and were forced to burn shoes, clothing and timbers from their homes just to keep warm and still continues today. His people were the poorest people in America. Families of four were subsisting on welfare payments of \$212.00 per month.

And in this part of the country, where temperatures dip to thirty degrees below zero regularly, families are forced to go without heat and electricity most of the time.

During the 83/84 winter an elderly widow was forced to chop and burn the logs she bought to build an extra room onto her home. Years of savings and hope were destroyed. Another family had to burn the porch for their home...

As the severe winter persisted, they began to burn the timber from the outhouse. The family survived the winter by surrendering privacy and possessions.

Conditions inside the HUD dwelling are worse than can be imagined. The houses were only 90% completed, some never painted. And the R Factors of the insulation is sub-standard.

But, Walter knew the people needed help if they were to survive... Walter and Muriel took immediate action.

They organized a clothing drive in Denver and

drove truck loads of food, clothing and mattresses to Wounded Knee. They found the most effective way to help was to take provisions door-to-door, circumventing both tribal government and federal bureaucrats who had been misappropriating aid money and donated supplies over the years. Every dollar Tiyospaye receives goes directly to the needy at Wounded Knee.

Walter and Muriel realized the importance of social interaction to a successful Native American community.

The most symbolic gesture made by Walter was to acquire a drum for the community. The community had no drum since the 1930's. When a resident, who was the first to receive the drum, started to beat it rhythmically, people came out of their houses...they sang together...then they prayed.

Now, Walter plans to build a community center. He will oversee the construction and the people will do all the work. It will be made of logs from native trees. It will be a place where the people can meet, exchange ideas, conduct workshops, etc. And, if necessary, it can double as an emergency shelter.

Walter's aim is self reliance for his people, through a bountiful relationship with Mother Earth.

We need your help to continue this program... please send your tax deductible contributions to:

**Tiyospaye Crisis Center, 4031 Osage Street,
Denver, Colorado 80211.**

For further information, contact the Tiyospaye Crisis Center at (303) 477-8090.

Inuit Leader Assails "Ice Curtain"

ANCHORAGE, AL. (IPN) — Inuit (Eskimo) in Alaska and Siberia are divided by an "ice curtain" created by the Superpowers, an Inuit leader is charging in the wake of the Geneva summit.

Hans-Pavia Rosing, president of the Circumpolar Conference, an organization of Inuits in Greenland, Alaska and Canada, wrote in a publicized letter to President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that hostilities between their countries has caused "the separation of our brothers and sisters in Siberia from the rest of the Inuit world."

Rosing urged the world leaders to "consider uniting the separated Inuit families of the Bering Straight region and make it possible for our relatives to take part in the cultural exchanges," following the Geneva summit.

"Please end the cold war for the sake of the world's 100,000 Inuit... as well as for the rest of mankind," the letter concluded.

COLOMBIA

Hope for Lopez Adentro

In 1984, many Survival International supporters protested to the Colombian government over army attacks on the Indian community of Lopez Adentro. We are pleased to report that the authorities are now discussing the future of the community with the Indians. In May, the local department governor and representatives of the Agrarian Reform Institute met with Indian leaders in Popayan. The issue is far from resolved, but things look more hopeful.

But for Indians in other parts of Colombia the situation has deteriorated dramatically. The Indian community of Andalucia in the Cauca district was bombed by Colombian army helicopters on June 29th. Sixteen houses as well as fields of crops were destroyed. Bombings were also carried out on the Indian communities of Corinto and Jambalo. On July 1st, the army entered the Indian community of Pueblo Nuevo. It is not yet known what damage was caused there. In a separate incident, an Indian leader, Maximiliano Quiganas, was killed by soldiers.

The local Indian organisation (CRIC) is under attack from a group of left-wing guerillas (FARC), as well as from the right-wing government forces. On 11 August, the leftist guerillas shot and killed six people including a child. The killings took place as the Indians were travelling to the community of Jambalo. An hour later, FARC killed the Indian woman, Rosa Elena Toconas, in the community of Mariposas (Pitayo reservation). Rose was an Indian teacher in Las Delicias; she has worked with the Indian priest, Father Alvaro Ulcue, killed last November by military agents (see *SI News 8*). She, and her family, had been repeatedly threatened with violence over the years.

CRIC alleges that FARC has killed 17 Cauca Indians in total, simply because they did not belong to the guerilla group. It says that FARC is rapidly becoming the 'enemy number one of the Indians.'

This situation is typical of the plight of many tribal peoples, caught between the forces of 'Left' and 'Right'.

Source: *Survival International*

Plowshares Peace and Justice Activists

We are writing on behalf of twenty-four peace and justice activists who are currently serving two to eighteen year prison sentences for their participation in "Plowshares" disarmament actions.

During the last year, friends and relatives of the Plowshares prisoners have formed a Prisoners Service Group to work with existing Plowshares support groups and to assist them in supporting our sisters and brothers in prison as well as to generate more public exposure about their actions, trials and imprisonment.

In Rhode Island, the October 18th sentencing of the Trident II Plowshares was reviewed by David McRobert

In a celebrated essay, Gad Horowitz once observed that liberal thought in Canada has been either anemic or parasitic. Arguably, this comment aptly applies to the dozens of Ph.D. and Master theses on the "Indian Problem" that have been written by Canadian scholars over the past few decades. Very few of these actually have an impact on policy-makers. Moreover, Indian communities have often decried their subjection to the whims of researchers. This new book by A. Shkilnyk, based on her Ph.D. work, has the potential to impact on policy-makers but it unfortunately still is a largely parasitic and anemic work in the tradition of liberal thought.

were stifled during pre-sentence statements. All five made attempts to create an opportunity for Judge Bourcier to accept an invitation to join a community of compassion and responsibility. Choosing instead to stand with the Bombmakers, Judge Bourcier likened the defendants to Adolf Hitler, airplane hijackers, and other terrorists. Bourcier read from a letter from General Dynamics requesting that the five be sentenced to serve the "maximum penalty allowable under the law." Neither the integrity of all the defendants, nor the compelling circumstances of Jean Holladay in particular (who has been living with her son-in-law and two small grandchildren since her daughter's tragic death in June) were sufficient to break through the judge's resolve to impose maximum punishment.

Isaiah Peach Ministry, 66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511, (203) 562-7935.



Anishinabe Akeeng

On November 7, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs sent out of Committee S. 1396, or "The White Earth Land Claims Settlement Act of 1985". After a close vote of 5-4, and over strong constitutional questions raised by Senators John Melcher (MT), and Quentin Burdick (ND), Senator Mark Andrews (ND), pushed for the bill to be passed out of committee. Minutes after the approval of the bill, some 28 persons were arrested at Senator Rudy Boschwitz's St. Paul office for obstructing access to the office. These people, the majority Native people from White Earth and Minneapolis, opposed the legislation. S. 1396 has been proposed by Senator Rudy Boschwitz and Dave Drenberger from Minnesota.

Although the bill passed out of the Committee, there is still strong opposition to the legislation, and Anishinabe Akeeng, the coalition of heirs and allottees to White Earth lands, plans on waging a strong battle to stop what Akeeng members call "the railroad of the bill". Anishinabe Akeeng has actively opposed the legislation, and successfully for the past three years averted the passage of the bill. Unfortunately Arlan Stangeland, Rudy Boschwitz and Dave Drenberger have "utilized a number of dishonourable tactics", as observers have noted, in attempting to push the legislation through. In the last session of Congress, for instance, the two bills were placed as riders on continuing appropriations bills, just in the last minutes of the session. Fortunately, John Melcher and Sidney Yates removed the bills from the later passed appropriations bills. Anishinabe Akeeng members are concerned that this type of action is not used in the upcoming weeks in Congress.

At the Tribal level, White Earth Tribal Council representatives, on a number of occasions considered accepting the "settlement" proposal, since federal and state officials told the tribe this was "the best possible offer". Anishinabe Akeeng member Marvin Manypenny noted that "they always tell us this is the 'best possible offer' and every year they 'up the offer'. They said (federal and state officials) this was the best and only offer when the 'settlement' was for \$5 million. And they keep saying this is the best possible offer when they want to return 10,000 acres of land, and around \$20 million. The truth is that they are getting away with the bank. Even this \$17 million is pretty cheap for 200,000 acres of land, not to mention the hardships, death, suffering, timber, and

Short Notes

everything else they have taken from us. We say White Earth is Not for Sale".

Each time the Tribal Council has considered the proposal, and tentatively accepted any proposal, Anishinabe Akeeng and community members have forced a change in the Council's position. In May of 1985, the Council once again passed a resolution opposing the legislation - totally. However, the Tribal Chairman, Chip acted unilaterally and convened negotiations in on October 30 of this year. As a result of his "negotiations" were placed on the Boschwitz bill, and on the basis on which the bill was passed out of committee in kup" session. On November 7, Wadena was confronted by of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe Tribal Executive Council Anishinabe Akeeng at the Intertribal Meeting at Grand reservation. These people pointed out that these activities gal and violated both the constitution of the White Earth Council and the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. One Tribal noted that "he could never go against a Council resolution if he disagreed with it." Other members simply pointed out that these activities were illegal under tribal law. "We continue our work in the protection of civil and tribal community," said Dale Hanks, one of the Anishinabe members at the meeting. "We will continue to confront the Chairman particularly as the abuse of power by the Chairman endangers our national land base."

In addition, 28 persons were arrested on the Skyway at Senator Rudy Boschwitz's office in St. Paul, one hour after the bill had passed from committee. Convening with a pipe ceremony and prayer song at 9:00, approximately 125 persons from White Earth, farm groups, and the peace and justice communities congregated at the Senators office. At 11:00, 28 people were arrested as they protested the forwarding of repressive legislation on White Earth.

Anishinabe Akeeng members are working to block the bill in the Senate. "We urge people to support Senator Melcher in putting a hold on the bill in the Senate, and we are asking that people aid us in opposing HR 2678 (the companion bill) in the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee." Dale Hanks notes. Morris Udall (AZ) chairs that Committee. Akeeng hopes to stop the bill prior to this session of Congress, in which case state enabling legislation would expire, and Akeeng members hope that "more just" negotiations would take place. "Simply put, Marvin Manypenny states, "White Earth is Not for Sale, and we consider these bills a railroading of repressive legislation."

Hawaiian Rainforest

In spite of pleas from environmentalists and biologists, a significant portion of Hawaii's only remaining lowland rainforest is being felled at the rate of several acres a day to supply woodchips for electrical power generation.

The forest at issue is on the island known as Big Island. This 3300-acre tract is dominated by 'ohi'a trees (Metrosideros), a hardwood of the myrtle family that reaches 100 feet in height. The trees are being felled by Bio Power Corp., a Honolulu-based company which supplies biomass to a sugar mill that produces energy for the Hawaii Electric Power Company. Bio Power has so far cleared about one-third of the area, using machines that reduce a centuries-old tree to chips in 30-seconds.

Because the land is privately owned and because Hawaiian lawmakers are said to be highly sensitive to the interests of developers, environmentalists have little legal recourse for delaying or preventing destruction of this "unique" vegetation area. Though Hawaiians have great pride in their natural heritage, they have few mechanisms in place for studying or protecting their land, vegetation or wildlife and no agencies to intervene.

Two University of Hawaii bontanists have told Bio Power Corp. that the land is of unique research value for two reasons; it represents all stages of forest from nearly barren lava flow to mature and senescing rainforest and it is part of a continuous upland to lowland native ecosystem. The company, however, has neither moved to harvest the faster growing eucalyptus nor begun harvesting the 'ohi'a forest in a checkerboard fashion so that it might regenerate. Instead, Bio Power set aside a mere 200-acre batch of trees which it said it would not harvest for two years. Scientists say the 200 acres could just as easily as not be wiped out by the next lava flow.

Source: Greenletter, P.O. Box 9243, Berkley, CA. 94709

ALSO:

Pacific Concerns
Resources Center
P.O. Box 27692
Honolulu, HI 96827

Na OIwi O Hawai'i
P.O. Box 37841
Honolulu, HI 96837

Pacific Peoples Anti-Nuclear

Action Committee U.S. Pacific Issues Network
P.O. Box 61086 1203 Smith Tower
Otago, Auckland Seattle, WA 98104
New Zealand

Indian Fishing Rights in Pacific Northwest

PORTLAND — S. Timothy Wapato, Executive Director of the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, reacted favorably to today's U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding Indian tribes' right to harvest hatchery-produced salmon. "We're pleased, of course, but not particularly surprised," said Wapato. "Any other result would have been unworkable, completely unfair, and a bald violation of Indian treaty rights."

In today's ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court denied Washington State's petition to overturn a ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The state had unsuccessfully argued before the lower court that treaties between the United States and Pacific Northwest Indian tribes did not include the right to catch artificially propagated hatchery fish. "The case means that state and tribal fishermen share the whole salmon resource; both hatchery and natural fish," said Wapato. "It's how we've always split the harvest, in fact."

According to Wapato, "The case was a hold-over from the state's Indian fighting days. It was an anomaly, really. The states and tribes have come a long way over the past few years. These days, we look for ways to stay out court, to work together. The Supreme Court certainly did the right thing with this case: it was the remnant of a period when the state was willing to invent any argument just for the sake of fighting the tribes."

"The Northwest has scores of hatcheries - some tribal, some state, most are federal. If by some chance anyone in state government has a lingering doubt, there can no longer by any question that these facilities have to be operated for all fishermen. We should be suing them to rebuild depressed natural runs, including the upriver stocks that have been hurt so much from dam construction."

"Every recent opinion out of the federal courts has strongly affirmed cooperative management," Wapato continued. "We share the salmon, we share the responsibility to keep the resource healthy. Everyone seems to be working toward that end - I'm grateful that the Supreme Court resisted any temptation to upset the good relationships we've finally achieved."

Source: Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission 2705 East Burnside Street, Suite 114, Portland, Oregon 97214

Pacific Anti-Nuclear Dumping

The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Network in Britain writes:

Ever since the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima, the nuclear powers have used the Pacific as their experimental backyard. Over 250 atomic and hydrogen bombs have been detonated in the region. Pacific peoples are used as guinea pigs. Their land, water, air and food is stolen or poisoned by mining, testing and dumping by nuclear powers and multinational companies.

The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement is a grass roots movement of indigenous Pacific peoples uniting across thousands of miles to try and free themselves from the colonial yoke that is destroying their traditional lifestyles and lands.

The most recent threat to the Pacific has come from the Japanese government who have made clear their intent to dump nuclear waste in the ocean north of the Mariana Islands.

In 1983 the London Dumping Convention, an international body that regulates ocean waste disposal, called for a two-year moratorium on the dumping of nuclear waste in the sea while scientific investigations were carried out. From 23rd to 27th of September 1985, the LDC meets again to decide whether or not sea dumping should be given the go-ahead, despite the fact that studies are not yet complete. If the nuclear powers succeed in getting the moratorium lifted, sea dumping will become the 'solution' to nuclear waste disposal with disastrous consequences to the Pacific peoples and ultimately to us all. With our near total ignorance of the deep sea environment, it is irresponsible to dispose of substances, which will remain lethal for thousands of years.

(From Survival International)



Akwesasne Notes Calendar 1986

Six artists friends of Akwesasne Notes have contributed their work for this new calendar. Thirteen black & white art works by Mary Arquette, Gary Knack, Barry Maracle, Rudy Paddock, Carol Snow and Gesso Thomas. Each page is a new contemporary work expressing the artists' view and thoughts on the past, present and future.

Unique and yet merging in spirit to convey a single theme; the love of this good earth with the future unborn generations always in mind.

On quality paper, the calendar is meant to be kept as a folio long after 1986. Calendar opens to 12x24". Available November 1st.

Give them as gifts to family and friends as Winter Solstice approaches. You can also help Notes by asking your local bookstores to carry them.

We know you will like this new calendar.

— Akwesasne Notes Staff



Our Calendar Cover —
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by Carol Snow, Seneca Nation

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Walter's aim is self reliance for his people, through a bountiful relationship with Mother Earth.

We need your help to continue this program... please send your tax deductible contributions to: Tiyoospaye Crisis Center, 4031 Osage Street, Denver Colorado 80211

FOR A FRIEND:

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c/o Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation, P.O. Box 196
via Roosevelttown, New York 13683-0196



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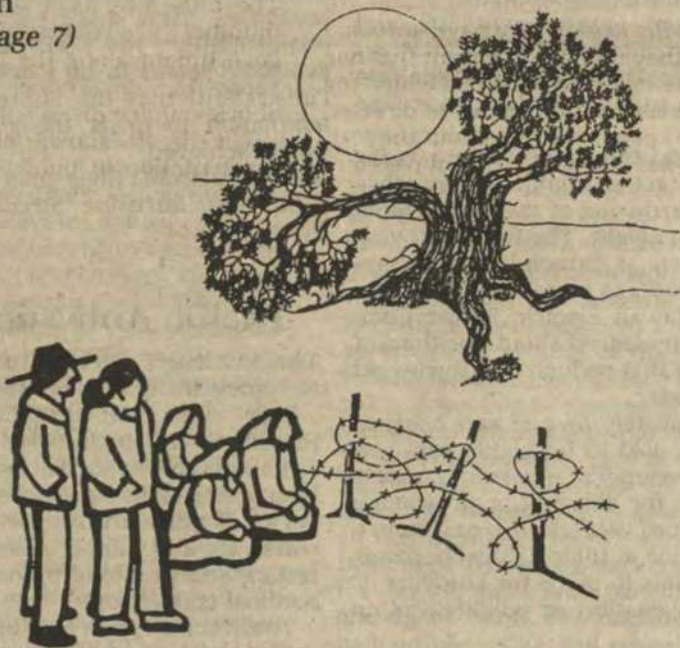
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Big Mountain
(Continued from page 7)



VIDEO:

"THE WRONG SIDE OF THE FENCE", a tape of the testimony at the 1981 Survival Gathering. Larry Anderson explains what has happened to the Elders of Big Mountain who face relocation, and the Elders active in the resistance also speak. 40 min. Available from BMLD/OC, 124 N. San Francisco St. No.B/Flagstaff, AZ. 86001 (602) 744-6923.

ATTENTION: If you have video films, recordings or photographs related to the relocation, please let us know. We would like to expand our collection of materials to use for outreach to the media and other groups. Also, if you have other resources available, such as VCR's or other video equipment, printing, exeroxing, reproduction, art-work, etc. please get in touch with us. We need you. Thanks to all.

Dear Folks! It's Concert & Benefit Planning Time

We are asking each of you to consider planning a local benefit — all on the same night December 21, 1985.

FOCUS is a 5 MINUTE PRAYER VIGIL in your own time zone - 9:00 PST - 12:00 EST

The theme for this national grass roots phenomena will be "COWBOYS FOR INDIANS" A benefit to assist Big Mountain Legal Offense Defense Committee to

bring about REPEAL of P.L. 93-531 on behalf of the Traditional people of the JUA resisting forced removal from their Ancestral Homelands. Consider the power and focus of thousands of local support people coming together in solidarity & prayer to REPEAL P.L. 93-531.

They don't have to be large gatherings, just the size of local group can handle and the type of facility and talent available. Big is not as important as together. A tight, solid sharing in the spirit of solidarity between all good people, working toward the righting of wrongs, would be a very wonderful union for strengthening the Elders and for illuminating the world. If it's a potluck in your house with a harmonica, or an all out extravaganza with famous stars in a big ball room, it's just us, loving and coming on! Spread the words!! Let us know how you feel. We may use what we learn for a major event for late spring.

IN PEACEFUL STRUGGLE TO REPEAL P.L. 93-531
COME UNITY!

Contact: Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 124 N. San Francisco, Flagstaff, AZ 86001 (602) 774-6923

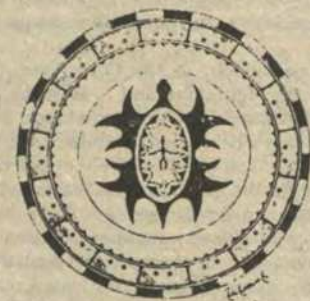
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These funds go to AKWEKON to support the Project which is Native artists helping Native artists develop a market for work; review all current media; define a Native identity; create a dialogue and an arts network.

Book Review

A Poison Stronger Than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community.

Anastasia M. Shkilnyk, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985; 274 pp. \$12.95
Reviewed by David McRobert

In a celebrated essay, Gad Horowitz once observed that liberal thought in Canada has been either anemic or parasitic. Arguably, this comment aptly applies to the dozens of Ph.D. and Master theses on the "Indian Problem" that have been written by Canadian scholars over the past few decades. Very few of these actually have an impact on policy-makers. Moreover, Indian communities have often decried their subjection to the whims of researchers. This new book by A. Shkilnyk, based on her Ph.D. work, has the potential to impact on policy-makers but it unfortunately still is a largely parasitic and partly anemic work in the tradition of liberal thought in Canada.

That said, it should be admitted this is an ambitious book. It attempts to synthesize a wide range of materials and will provide many readers with insights into the destruction of aboriginal peoples and their communities. Shkilnyk documents the horrible problems experienced by the Ojibwa people living on the Grassy Narrows/Whitedog Reserve over the past twenty-five years. She shows how their lives were devastated by changes that (despite public misconceptions) really took place in two phases. took place in two phases.

The first phase began in the early 1960's when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) attempted to provide residents on the isolated reserve with the benefits of modern industrial society. In the process, the well-intentioned planners from DIAND and Health and Welfare Canada completely undermined the existing social bonds and balances that existed in the community. Shkilnyk shows that modernization destroyed the traditional way of life which tied Grassy and Whitedog residents to the land through hunting and trapping, guiding, fishing and subsistence agriculture. With access to unemployment benefits, alcohol and other disruptive and previously unavailable influences the Ojibwa became vulnerable to manipulation for taxi drivers, bootleggers and other exploitive whites from near-by communities such as Kenora.

The second phase of the disruption process is more familiar to most Canadians. The poisoning of the English-Wabigoon River System with tonnes of mercury by the Dryden Pulp mill in 1970 has become a national embarrassment. A best-selling book has been written, a play on the problem toured the country in the 1970's, and the media have documented the tragedy in graphic detail. However, as Shkilnyk shows, all of this has been to no avail because the problems of violence, alcohol abuse and chronic unemployment faced by this community remain unresolved.

To support her argument, Shkilnyk provides an overview of the social ecology of the community prior to modernization. She maintains that in the pre-contact situation, the Ojibwa peoples approached their relationship with their community in a more balanced fashion. Aboriginal perceptions of and relationships in space and time fostered a mystical reverence for nature and this reverence was reinforced by myth and ritual. Thus, it is the breakdown of these relationships that explains a large degree of the disruption experienced in Grassy following modernization. For example, housing projects moved the community into a new area and provided residences that were spaced much closer together. This type of change broke down all sorts of rituals and spatial relations that had previously been important at Grassy.

Through this melding of description and analysis, Shkilnyk compares and contrasts the pre- and post-modernization communities. Her analysis is accomplished in part through reference to a wealth of statistical information in various tables in numerous sections in the book. The statistics cited lend considerable support to her argument, particularly those which compare Indian and non-Indian suicide rates in the Lake of the Woods Area. Shkilnyk employs these statistics to show that the Indians had



a suicide rate which was almost 10 times higher than that experienced by the nearby white communities. Unfortunately in some cases the statistics are dated. Shkilnyk does not clarify that these statistics are interesting primarily in historical context and may not (indeed, probably do not) reflect the situation at Grassy right now.

The other key data is drawn from vivid passages in Shkilnyk's "diary", which she kept while she was working in Grassy, and the interviews she conducted for the Band with various researchers and government officials. At times she seems to employ the journalistic technique of condensation of interviews and observations of the residents in order to heighten the drama of the tale being documented. I have serious doubts about some of the passages Shkilnyk claims are from her diary. While the events may have unfolded in the way she claims they did, it is apparent that her "diary" has been extensively rewritten and edited for this publication. A similar criticism could be directed at the "interviews" she sprinkles throughout the text.

In effect what emerges from the painful passages in the book is a ringing endorsement of the ancient notion that the worst pain one can suffer is to have insight into much and power over nothing. Shkilnyk's position throughout is truly tragic — she sees what is wrong with the community and knows how it could be better but she nor the others in government responsible for dealing with the problem seem to think that anything can be done about it. Apart from a few cryptic passages, she is unable to describe the alternative approaches that might have been pursued by government in resolution of the Grassy Narrows crisis.

For example, Shkilnyk's comments on compensation schemes are rhetorical rather than illuminating: "After more than a decade of meetings... the Grassy Narrows people have gained little more than platitudinous programs designed to placate." (p.205-6). While one cannot deny the validity of this observation, it would have been instructive if Shkilnyk had provided more detail on how exactly both the federal and provincial governments evaded responsibility. As John Swaigen observes in a report prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada in 1981 entitled *Compensation of Pollution Victims in Canada*, Grassy Narrows is a classic example of avoidance of compensation through constitutional buck-passing. The Province wished to avoid a "dangerous" and potentially troublesome precedent on compensation of pollution victims. Moreover, Shkilnyk points out, they refused to admit that mercury poisoning could cause health problems until 1974 when media coverage and public pressure forced the release of an Interdepartment Task Force Report on the effects of mercury. The record of the Province on the matter has been abysmal and at times one can hardly believe the arrogance and stupidity of certain bureaucrats involved in the Grassy Narrows situation.

The federal government, for its part, has fared only slightly better. Considering their fiduciary obligations to aboriginal peoples (confirmed recently by the Supreme Court of Canada), one could argue that,

in fact, they performed much worse. Shkilnyk argues that garbled communications between the two levels of government effectively blockaded efforts on the part of various federal departments to wrestle with the full human and environmental costs of this tragedy in an adequate manner.

Shkilnyk contends that the only way to solve the problems of Grassy Narrows is to break "the deadlock of their marginality." She advocates provision of new land for traditional pursuits and the development of new housing and other facilities. However such an approach seems reminiscent of the original well-intentioned interventions in the 1960s. The paradox in all this is that the so-called "Indian Problem" that Shkilnyk is trying to address is rooted in white culture's attitudes and values of domination. The only long-term solution that could help communities like Grassy is movement towards self-government along the lines proposed in the recent report by Keith Penner and supported by numerous aboriginal groups.

The book shows clearly that a fundamental reorientation in public policy with respect to both environmental regulation and Indian administration must transpire to avoid the problems that arise in situations such as Grassy Narrows. However, I am far from optimistic that the required changes can occur within the parameters set out by Shkilnyk in this book. Her lack of critical analysis of structural barriers to resolution of the Grassy situation and the manipulative politics of the case is disappointing. Moreover, as a student schooled in the development theories of Harold Innis, I was dismayed that the marginalization of native northerners was not presented in terms of metropolitan domination of the hinterland.

In this respect, the Grassy Narrows situation illustrates the paradox of the distribution of the benefits and externalities of staples resource development in the Canadian Hinterland. As Innis observed, hinterland areas draw the very essence of their development in Canada from the metropole, yet that dependence tends to produce an imbalanced distribution of the costs of development and also stifles attempts by the hinterland to correct the imbalance through, for example, promotion of a Conservator Society in the Metropole. Thus, a massive discrepancy exists between the capacity of many northern communities to respond to pollution impacts and/or fluctuations in the demands for their resources.

In the end, one is left with the uneasy feeling that this book is too good to be true. Literally. Shkilnyk's attempt to mass market the pain of Grassy Narrows seems crass and one wonders what exactly the book can accomplish at this point. I hope it will be viewed as a historical treatise by the community members themselves. It is unfortunate that they have to have their personal tragedies revealed to the international community through publications of this kind in order to get the attention their horrible situation deserves.

(David McRobert is a Fellow in the Faculty of Environmental Studies and a 2nd year student at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University.)

SANTA FE — Controversy, protest and dispute marked the 5-day long Inter-American Indian Congress held here during the last week of October. The Congress quickly divided into two factions; the official representatives of 17 governments from throughout North, South and Central America, and those who said they were representing the people of those countries.

According to one Congress participant: "It was a familiar story. The people want a voice in determining the policy's which affect their lives. The governments don't want to give them one." Although the Congress ended in an atmosphere of courtesy, the events prior to adjournment were far from cordial.

The Congress has met every four years since 1940, but this is the first time the gathering has occurred in the United States. Initially, feelings were ruffled when word was received that this was also the first time the Congress would not be addressed by the President of the host country. According to local sources, the absence of President Reagan or Vice-President Bush was "a definite slight." The Congress is affiliated with the Organization of American States and supervised by the State Department.

The first controversial event, however, came with the resignation of Dave Warren, principal U.S. Representative to the Inter-American Indian Congress. Warren had been important in having the Congress hosted by the U.S. He resigned, he said, "in protest over the method of selecting the U.S. Representatives to the Congress."

He was supported in his decision by his colleague Theo Crevenna, of the Latin American Institute at the University of New Mexico, which served as principal advisor to the Congress. In a public statement, Crevenna said he was "dissatisfied, disenchanted and disgusted" over the selection process which he said disregarded all recommendation he and Warren had made. Specifically, Crevenna and Warren objected to the lack of women representatives on the U.S. Delegation, as well as the omission of anyone who had served on the delegation before. They also felt that the largest tribe of Indians in the country, the Navajo Nation, should have been represented on the delegation.

When the Congress convened on Monday, the first indications of tension were felt when a group of about 125 Navajos and their supporters marched from the New Mexico State Capital Building to the Convention site and picketed all afternoon. The demonstration was led by a delegation of Navajo women chosen from among those who face relocation by the United States Federal Government this summer. The women, who wore their traditional Navajo velvet shirts and full skirts, were joined by their attorney, Lew Gorwitz and representatives of the International Indian Treaty Council. Marchers carried signs saying "Peabody's Coal Train is Gonna Haul Us Away," referring to the mineral despoits in the area; "Relocation is Termination" and "There is no dispute between the Navajo and Hopi People." Other banners read; "The whole world will look at the U.S. Government and see what they have done to us;" and a quote from the Geneva Convention; "The Removal of Native Peoples is an act of genocide." They also carried a drum and flags.

Throughout the week, the Navajo women and their supporters made their presence felt as they sat in the plenary sessions and smaller committee meetings. At one time, they were joined by a group of Hopi people who are supporting their Navajo neighbors in their attempt to resist relocation.

On Tuesday, as the group sat in the Convention Center lobby at noon to eat lunch, one of the older men asked Larry Anderson, and Eugene Hasgood to sing a song. A group of several singers had gathered around and began to sing when a group of Santa Fe City Police appeared and said that management of the Convention Center had ordered them to "stop the noise." A heated argument broke out between Anderson and the officers; management of the center declined to comment.

As the meeting went into its second day of sessions, discussion began to focus on creating a special Indian Committee where Indians from the countries represented could meet "without government interference." The movement for the Inter-Indian forum came about because according to Ramiro Reynaga, coordinator of the National Indian Youth Council; "Indians have no voice in this Congress about Indians." His view was supported by North and South American Indian leaders who were present. Many of the representatives had come to the Congress at their own expense, and said they had been led to expect their participation would be welcome and that they would have a chance to express the needs of the indigenous peoples whom they represented. They urged creation of a "parallel forum" to allow this expression.

Inter-American Indian Congress: A Five Day Farce?

by Trisha Stanton



The function of the forum would be two-fold. According to Richard LaFromboise, President of the National Tribal Chairman's Association, the main focus of the forum would be to allow "Indian-to-Indian dialogue." In addition, the proposal introduced by the U.S. Delegation, would have permitted resolutions passed by the indigenous forum to be introduced and discussed at the general sessions. Non-governmental Indian delegates are not allowed to vote on resolutions, but many felt that by having them read, attention would be focused on those issues which most concerned the people.

Several official governmental representatives were totally opposed to the idea of a parallel forum and tempers continued to heat up during the day. At one point, Richard Montoya, who was presiding over the Congress as co-chairman, was booed for his remarks to Nicaraguan delegate, Lumberto Campbell. Campbell was addressing the general session, and had made the remark that 30 percent of the monetary damages to Nicaragua from U.S. policy were in the Indian area of that country. He criticized the U.S. administration's policy toward the Sandinista government and said that Nicaragua is preparing to issue a statute of Indian autonomy.

As Campbell ended his remarks, Richard Montoya stood and apologized to the delegates for Campbell's speech, which he called "a political diatribe." A chorus of boos came from throughout the auditorium. Later information said that in a closed-door session that afternoon, delegates had unanimously agreed to have Montoya's remarks struck from the record.

On Wednesday, friction between official delegates and unofficial representatives continued to focus on the parallel forum.

When official governmental representatives voted not to allow equal participation in the Congress to the parallel forum, an argument erupted and the general session collapsed in chaos. The dispute focused on whether or not the Congress would give recognition to the Indian-created committee which had been called together by unofficial representatives. The committee, composed of Indians from both American hemispheres, had hoped to be able to have its resolutions presented to the plenary session on Friday but the idea was voted down.

Speaking to a grim-faced audience, composed largely of Indians, William Means, director of the International Indian Treaty Council later said he was "honestly embarrassed for the United States" over the refusal to grant Indian participation. "This is the worst conference I've ever been to," he added.

Urging the group to continue its work, Means said he thought it was necessary for the indigenous forum to hear and pass resolutions even if official recognition of its status had been denied.

The official refusal to allow Indigenous people a voice in the Congress was widely condemned by New Mexico media. In an editorial, the *Albuquerque Journal*, one of the state's largest daily newspapers, suggested that the name of the gathering should be changed to the "Inter-American Confabulation of Paternalistic Governments" and referred to the conference as "a dog and pony show."

Throughout the week, attention continued to be focused on the so-called "Land Dispute" between the Navajo and Hopi people.

The Hopi tribal chairman Ivan Sidney put in a personal appearance at the Convention Center Thursday because he said he felt "the Hopi side was not being presented." The Navajo women followed him to his car as he left the meeting, trying to question him on his position in the matter. Roberta Blackgoat, spokeswoman for the women, attempted to grasp his

hand as he left; "I just wanted to ask him, 'Why are you letting this genocide go on?'" Mrs. Blackgoat told members of the press who crowded around as the Chairman's car pulled away.

Sidney was accompanied by several Hopi elders who said the relocation of traditional Navajos "has resulted from the failure of the government to stand by the law." Alfred Kaye, spokesman for the First Mesa Guardian Society said: "It is not the Hopi way to make people move, but the government has allowed these people to live on our land."

Other Hopi traditionalists were present at the Congress Friday to add their assurances that there is no dispute between the two peoples. Thomas Banyaca, another Hopi traditional leader said "The government is using the problem to divide the Indian people."

The Indigenous people's forum continued to work until nearly midnight on Thursday as Indian representatives from Bolivia, Chile, Panama and other countries voiced their disapproval of governmental Indian policies in their countries.

Primarily, the issues dealt with by the forum were concerned with land. Although details varied from country to country, Indian people again and again spoke of their concern for the land. Health care, water rights, and other forms of economic development were also mentioned. The group had now been told that their resolutions would not be voted on; but that their concerns would be put on the record and identified as having come from an unofficial forum.

On Friday, however, the morning session was cancelled, without notice, as had been the case all week, afternoon sessions were almost an hour late in convening. At 4:30, when Jose Rojas Ortiz, chairman of the indigenous forum rose to speak, he was cut off by the convention chairman as he began to present the resolutions because the official delegates said they were "out of time," and "running late."

The Congress reconvened in special session late Friday night in a small room on the second floor of the center. Called to order at about 10 p.m., the session was unattended by many official delegates who had already left for home. In addition, many of the Indians who had served on the indigenous forum were participating in the pow-wow being held at the same time. Nevertheless, the small room was crowded to capacity, full of smoke and extremely overheated. The pow-wow made it difficult to hear, so outer doors were kept closed.

Employees who were identified by a reliable source as "State Department Security" refused to permit the air conditioning to be turned on, nor would they allow windows to be opened. Under such conditions, tempers again flared and harsh words were exchanged several times between official and unofficial delegates. After prolonged parliamentary wrangling, the resolutions were finally read, concluding at about 1:30 a.m.

After the morning official conclusion of the conference, representatives of the Indigenous Caucus said they were prevented from putting their resolutions into final form. A reliable source said a taskforce had been prepared to translate the material, type it and put it into final form for copying and distribution the following morning. However, said the source, (who asked not be identified), as they worked at their typewriters in the early morning hours, they were approached by policemen and ordered from the building. When they attempted to explain that they had permission to work through the night, the police drew their guns, and ordered them out.

Daniel Gibson, media co-ordinator, for the Congress said later that he had heard nothing of the incident and "felt sure it was a misunderstanding." The resolutions passed by the indigenous group, however, were not ready the next day.

As AKWESASNE NOTES goes to press, the resolutions passed by them are still not available. According to the New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs, the resolutions "have been taken to the State Department in Washington to be translated and put in order." Daniel Gibson, spokesman for the office said he expects to have the final version "in about two weeks."

The same person who told of being ordered from the building commented; "In this case, anything is possible. There was only one copy of those resolutions."

Although the Congress adjourned with handshakes and a public statement from U.S. delegates Richard LaFromboise and Reuben Snake, saying that the U.S. delegates had a "positive impact on the Congress", the real benefits, if any, to the Indian peoples of the American will not be known until the next session of the Congress in 1990.

Size: 17" X 23", Price: \$3.00 each (+ postage)



Poster C:
MOTHER AND CHILD
by Mary Arquette
Brown on Buff



Poster E:
THE GREAT FEATHER DANCE
by Gesso Thomas
Black on White

AKWESASNE NOTES/EARLY WINTER 1985/PAGE 29

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Friends,

May these thoughts find everyone in good health and spirit. As our ceremonies come around, we think of each other in our prayers.

I was privileged to meet one of our brothers from Central America, recently. He brings greetings from our relatives in the South. On November 12th, the Mayan people will be celebrating a feast on that day. It is a Woman's Day for them. I gave him my word that many women from this part of the world will know about this day. We in our own way will direct our prayers to the Creator for all women in the world, especially for the women from South and Central America, who are struggling to live as Indian people.

Also he wants us to remember November 24th. He asked that we perform our own ceremonies on that day. This is the New Year for the Mayan people. It is a very important date on the Mayan calendar.

Our struggle with the un-natural society will be overcome if we join our thoughts and prayers together. Our relatives in the South especially need our prayers now.

Inform as many elders, spiritual leaders, and traditional people on these dates. Our Indian brother was very thankful and glad to know that many people will hear of these dates and that the Indian people of the North too will be remembering and celebrating along with the Mayan People.

In One Spirit,
Vickie Downey/K'uuyaa Tsawa



A Journal For Native And Natural People

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Walk for Peace

Hi Mark,

Since we came together at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza for Peace in our lands and the world, I was honored to walk with the children of the Akwesasne Freedom School. I plan to continue to walk in other places for peace.

I had not walked since my involvement in the Longest Walk in 1978. We began to talk about a walk that would culminate at the first Peace Pogoda in our land and territory way back in early 1984. I decided to walk in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Peace, Sept. 21, 1985 first to give my thanks to Venerable Fugii for all the help he gave us. For my people, my daughters, my health.

I feel privileged to have walked with people from many parts of the world, to share our food, our aches and pains, our life styles, to share in our spiritual greetings and thanksgivings, our exchanges in how we pray.

Least but not last, we all learned from each other, when we stop learning it's all over.

I must thank all the life support elements that guided me, I learned so much of human beings, ailments, happiness, sadness, anger, fears, disappointed, persevere, we laughed so much.

I didn't want it to end, I found a new kind of family. In the spirit of the extended family system.

Kanaratitake Wolf Clan 871-54 St.
Mohawk Nation Bklyn, NY 11220
c/o Montoya

Saving A Watershed

Hello Friends, we very much appreciate your work.

As you may know, the Timber Industry continues to walk heavily on United States public lands, damaging these lands and depriving others of a forest which could be, as is presently stipulated by law, managed in such a way that a wide variety of benefits would be available on a continual, sustainable basis, rather than timber extraction precluding other uses. Presently the land is being poisoned, and being ravaged block by block, down to scorched earth, and unnecessarily. Clearcut forestry is used in steep, unstable country and the result is massive erosion, warmer stream temperatures, and degradation of the fish habitat. Huge landslides occur, transforming steep forested slopes into mud cliffs above the rivers which receive the debris which chokes the open gravel condition of the streambed necessary to fish reproduction. Salmon populations in this area have declined by more than 90% in the last 25 years.

And, upon investigation, it turns out that the economic value of the "Fishery" actually exceeds the economic value of the "Timber" which is taken at such exorbitant cost to our environment and, truly, to everyone.

It seems somehow obscene to present the natural mountain rivers of our area as a "Fishery" - knowing what this could mean in terms of "Development" - yet watersheds in good ecological condition are a requisite to any fishery, and it is the protection of this land from ongoing industrial rape that is our primary objective. Land use planners understand things mostly in economic terms. Any successful fishery will, of necessity, exclude the massive application of poisons on these watersheds, and will exclude methods of forestry which damage the land to the extent that the fishery is precluded, as is presently the case. Of course, we wouldn't mind seeing these rivers, as in the living memory of old timers in our area, run black with salmon and steelhead again. In the Pacific Northwest Fir Forest, salmon are an indicator species to watershed condition. The salmon are nearly gone. We had better wake up.

In the deepest sense, we want to promote the idea of good ecology for its own sake. The mountain forest, and all the other lifeforms, have a right to exist in their own right, aside from considerations of their usefulness to humans. And in the long term, it is only upon good ecological practice that any sustainable wealth is even possible!

So we are working on this and promoting this idea of bringing back the salmon and steelhead, and we are actually getting paid to do work in the streams removing obstructions and improving the fish habitat.

We hope you are well, Akwesasne Notes people. You mean a lot to us.

Here is a little money. Please keep the paper coming.

Your Friends,
Green
P.O. Box 387
Hayfork, CA 96041

"Operation Northwind"

The widespread abuse of Native American culture and heritage receives little consideration from the general public; mainly because little effort is made to bring this problem to the public's attention.

There exists in many parts of the country, small claims courts and courts acting as small claims courts. These courts exist to encourage people to act as their own lawyers and to sue for small amounts of money. There is usually available to the public, a booklet explaining how to proceed in small claims court.

A large number of lawsuits in small claims courts in the field of Native American cultural abuse could bring this whole situation to the public's attention.

The broad field of abuse in commercial and advertising operations, education institutions, phoney Indians, grave robbing and others can be attacked in the small claims court.

There is usually a small fee for these courts and in some courts, persons low on funds can petition to proceed free. After the complaints have been properly filed in the small claims court, copies of these complaints should be sent to the new media, newspapers, radio and television.

Large scale legal actions in the small claims court would do a great deal towards bringing the problem of Native American cultural abuse to the public's attention.

John Casper New Providence, New Jersey
120 Passaic Street 07974

Mormons

Brothers & Sisters of Akwesasne;

We greet you all in peace, unity, and brotherhood. May the Great Spirit continue to guide and help you all in the struggle for the freedom of our people.

I write this letter to you because I feel you are the only ones who can help us with the questions we have. We need the following information and will pay any expenses needed to obtain it. This all pertains to the Latter Day Saints or Mormon Church and is for a family clan of Cherokee here in Florida. They have just returned to the Cherokee Nation in Qualla, N.C. to rejoin their people after an absence of many years. They also happen to be Mormons. They are attempting to learn the old ways and religion and were shocked to hear of the Mormon forced adoption and kidnapping of native children. This is our needs.

1. Were the lands here in Florida that are now Mormon owned and called desert taken from the Seminole or Miccasouki?
2. Are the Mormons growing sugar cane on these lands?
3. There is a mountain near Elmira, New York called? Camorha? Was this taken illegally from the Iroquois people? Or any other native people?
4. Any and all information on the Mormon adoption and kidnapping of Native American children. Past and present.

These Cherokee people want to confront the Bishops of the church with this information and demand answers as to why this was done. The information I have on these subjects doesn't prove or document anything. Proof is what they need and are willing to take to Salt Lake City itself if necessary. These are good people who have been active in helping Yellow Thunder Camp and are now starting to try to help at Big Mountain also. We need your help as they came to me and I can't answer them good enough and promised to try to find the answers for them.

May you all walk in the Spirit of Crazy Horse and the Grandfathers.

Ni Kola,
Buck Ghost Horse
P.O. Box 16725
St. Petersburg, FL 33733



Dear Notes--

While I have no quarrel with Dr. Schaaf's conclusion that Indian peoples have a long-lasting focus on peace, I was really peeved by his dreamy-eyed description of U.S.-Iroquois relations in the early American Revolutionary period.

Dr. Schaaf makes it sound like George Morgan represented a saintly government (or near-government) concerned only with peace with the Iroquois. While I've been familiar with Morgan's papers for 10 years, I've never heard him so fervently described. Even if he was a man who strongly desired peace, Schaaf's article tells less than the whole story.

The main question he fails to ask is "why did the U.S. want peace with the Iroquois?" For any student of this era's history, it's clear that the U.S. was not just being good-hearted. It was a fledgling nation, barely able to be called a nation, really, due to its variety of historical experiences. It was embarked on a path than no other nation had taken. However jaunty it may have seemed, it was barely able to feed and clothe its troops — witness Valley Forge.

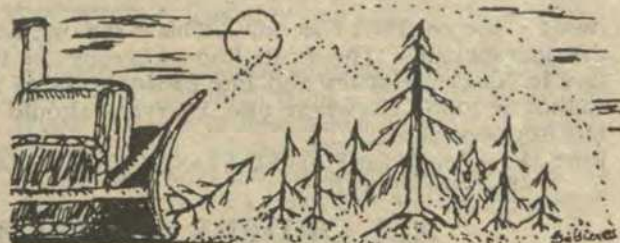
The Iroquois were in a position of tremendous power, holding the balance of military power between the U.S. and Britain, as well as a strategic position between Canada and the colonies, and fields and orchards that were, by all accounts, fantastic. The British were very busy trying to turn all the native people along the entire western border of the colonies against Washington and his crew. And the Iroquois were a large and effective fighting force, as well as the other traits I have mentioned.

In fact, when the Iroquois decided to fight with the British, it led to the depopulation (of non-Indians) from hundreds of miles of the border. This led the U.S. to mount the single largest military expedition of the Revolution, the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779, to stop the Iroquois pressure on the northern and western border area. With the destruction of the Iroquois' agricultural base and their villages, the colonies became free to turn to other fronts in the war.

So why was the U.S. trying so hard to maintain peace? Obviously not because they were peaceful — but because they were pragmatic and feared the Iroquois. This is clear from documents of the period. Perhaps the Morgan papers do not make this clear, but if that is the case, they are telling only a small, one-sided part of the story. Please share this information with your readers, so they don't get a warped view of U.S. history.

Keep the paper coming — despite this argument with this article, I treasure every issue.

Lillas Jones
Rt. 1
Kent, MN 56553



From Poland

(This note, along with poems in Polish, came to us on paper cut to turtle shape.)

Dear Friends!

I received your information letter. I thank you so much for your friendly words. It's good to hear from you again. I thank you for the spiritual and cultural paper "Akwasasne Notes". I was happy when I saw and read it. Your news are truly interesting and important to me. Since to hear from you.

With all my heart,
Gizegoiz Puszczuk Koztowski
62-040 Puszczukowo
UL. Goeebia 18.
Poland-Polska

Little Big Horn

Dear Editor,

I am involved at the moment in researching for participants to play the part of Native Americans in a proposed re-enactment of the Battle of the Little Big Horn (Greasy Grass) on its 110th anniversary on June 1886, here in England.

It is my intent by so doing to provide a customer base for stalls to benefit The Onaway Trust and the Yellow Thunder Camp viz their English supporter group.

We can't pay an appearance fee or the bus tickets to New York and the flight by People's Express or Virgin Atlantic, the cheapest return, booked well in advance. However Native Americans will be accommodated in English people's houses and in a tipi in the Indian Camp and catered, as well as transported once in England.

Any other charity stall you wish to put up in the Indian Camp if anyone came over would be appreciated, viz reasonably priced crafts etc.

103 British immigrant Soldiers, including one William Heath from Staffordshire, the country in which I live, died out of the total number of fatalities at the BATTLE, so Custer's rash ambition to gain high office viz the battlefield killed British people also.

Any journalist who could donate a short resume of the history immediately leading up to the battle of the Little Big Horn viz gold rush, Washita etc, would be much appreciated, from the nations' point of view.

I feel it right and proper that the senior parts of the Native American side via Tashunka Witko (Crazy Horse), Gall, Crow King and Two Moons should be portrayed by Native Americans themselves, especially Lakota and Northern/southern Cheyenne. If anyone in your office would like to come over we would be most honored. You could participate in the Battle and/or the Indian Camp.

The Indian Camp is very important to me as I intend to show a positive and correct view of Native American Family and Society in history, and ongoing today.

Hoping my letter finds you well and your newspaper continues to thrive. Hope to hear from interested persons who wish to participate in the above real soon.

Yours Sincerely,
Christine Williams
1 Morton Road, Stafford
England ST17 9NR

Greetings;

As always I trust this letter finds each and every one of you in the best of health, both physically and spiritually.

On behalf of the Indian Spiritual/Cultural Society I am drafting this letter on the treatment of the brothers in this southern iron house, but surprisingly, the abusive treatment does not come entirely from the prison administration but rather from our own people. In past years several influential Indian leaders have spoken out concerning the abusive treatment of brothers and sisters that are incarcerated. Mere words are somehow meaningless and obsolete when actions are not placed behind these words. Probably the worse crime in the annals of mankind are division & disunity, and we, Native and Natural People, are indeed guilty of this crime.

Conducting an independent investigation, through outside reliable sources, I have learned that the incarcerated brothers and sisters are receiving very little or no assistance and/or support from various Indian-related organizations in this country. On numerous occasions I have witnessed several brothers in this particular iron house (Angola) drafting letters to Native American organizations whose main goals are protecting and preserving Native American cultures & heritages in requesting assistance, and all letters have been met with stony silence.

Before we can collectively present our plight to world attention we should regroup and start within our own ranks to determine where overall problems lie. We cannot, effectively and purposefully, pursue certain goals and hope to accomplish these goals if we are not totally together in mind, spirit, and body. Perhaps more than anything else we must be mindful that growing and making changes takes time and demands hard work. Just as this world will not be healed overnight or without collective effort, all of the positive things we want for ourselves and our children will be realized only if we hold fast to a positive vision, put the energy behind our positive ideas, and make a personal commitment to continue the Struggle, no matter what.

Others seem to forget that the incarcerated brothers and sisters of today will eventually secure their individual freedom tomorrow. The fact that the majority of us have committed crimes in one form or another should not remain an obstacle in joining the determined and valiant brothers & sisters that are continuing the Struggle today. Nobody knows better than us that we, as prisoners, are not perfect. But then, perfection should never be expected of us. We're only human; therefore, subjected to human weaknesses. We have, somewhere along the path, become victims of our own weaknesses that subsequently caused us to become incarcerated but while in prison, we have grown spiritually and mentally.

I could lie and say that I came through the last few years undaunted, and that I never lost faith and always stayed on course.

Letters to the Editor



But that isn't my truth. And if it were, I'd be the only person in this world who did not suffer some. I've been challenged in new ways; ways that sometimes made me want to surrender. But I didn't! I made it to this day, I never ceased trying. Don't we know by now that sometimes life can be painful? Don't we know that painful experiences can be blessings if we use them as beacons of light to show us where we must grow and how we can get our lives in clearer focus? Without feelings of discontent, we would never feel challenged to make changes in our lives or to hold a positive vision of what we want for our tomorrow.

We have formed the Indian Spiritual/Cultural Society in here to come together under one common bond, to learn the spiritual teachings of the Hopis, our main objective to follow the "Hopi ways". There are some things we are unable to do for ourselves in here and we have had to turn toward other courses of actions but to no avail. We do not seek charity, rather we seek guidance. We seek neither sympathy nor pity, but understanding and acceptance. Native American prisoners should not be forgotten and/or neglected. And yet, shamefully, we are...

I sincerely hope this letter is printed so that others may know of the problems facing us while incarcerated. In one of your form letters, you stated, "It always seems to be the indigenous people who suffer most. Often their voices would not be heard unless reported by such papers as our own. We feel this to be our duty and will continue to report these things". 'Our plight' should indeed be reported.

It was our grandparents' positive vision for the future that empowered them to stand their ground, to give unselfishly and never give up their struggles during more perilous times than these. Just like them we must keep our minds focused on a positive vision for the future, our minds set on the myriad possibilities this life offers, on inventing solutions, on forging ahead...

In closing this letter to you; should this letter be published in the Akwasasne Notes I can only hope that others in the same position will move together into this new era that celebrates hope with a renewed vision of what we must do to realize our goals, our dreams.

Truth, Peace & Understanding;
Richard Slack #083552
Camp J/Gator 2-R Cell #10
Angola, Louisiana 70712

(These are excerpts from a letter from Wesley Francis who is incarcerated in Utah State Prison. Please help in any way you can. Contacts listed at end.)

Could you please mention that we need support in our legal battles and could use expert witnesses in this case. The case deals with the Utah State Prison violating the Religious Freedom Act by denying Indian Religious practices, sweatlodge and most important, long hair wearing by Indian peoples. Money, lawyers, information, letters to the Governor of Utah.

Utah State Prison has a hair standard rule (no long hair). They feel they have the right to infringe on Religious Freedom when a practice of religion is a health or safety risk.

By the time you get this letter I will probably be back on 24 hour lockup, but I will still have my long hair. Could you please help me find or get in touch with Leonard Crowdog, John Trudell or Oren Lyons. I could use them as expert witnesses. I'd also like to hear from Notes readers.

-Wesley Francis, #17526, Box 250, Draper, Utah 84020
-Louisa Baker (attorney), Utah Legal Services Inc. 637 E. 4th Street, S.L.C., Utah 84102 (801) 328-8891 or 1-800-662-4245
-Spokesperson for Indian Community, Gary Mountain, 801-583-0082
-A.C.L.U. 615 Judge Building, 84111 SLC Utah 801-521-9289.

Prison Workshops

"Greetings" Notes' People:

It might interest you, that we carry out Crime Prevention Workshops, in the area of Nova Scotia, of course, these workshops are put on in Reservations. Our recent one was put on in Millbrook Reservation, and it was very successful. And we get much support from our communities, for these type of programs we do. At the present, we are working on making a video in this Institution, dealing with Native offenders, and the daily routine he goes through. This video will be sent to different reserves in the Maritimes. The reason for this, is that we can't go to any great distance from this prison. Oh yes, we do get media coverage, but this alone is not enough. Personal involvement is needed in all of our native communities in the Maritimes, and this is one of the reasons, we intend to make a video. So far, we have got much support from outside organizations, however, only mere promises nothing concrete as of yet. However, we will work on it. And someday it will be reality.

Let only good spirits guide you —

From—Wabenaki Confederacy
'Children of Light' or
'People of the Dawn'
Fred Sylliboy 3554
P.O. Box 2140
Springhill, N.S.
B0M 1X0



The Canadian Leak

Dear Sir,

I am writing on behalf of the Springhill Institution.

We would like to express our views of the government on the report called Buffalo Jump 1980's.

If you could print this in your paper to show the Brotherhood views, as well as my own.

I await your response. Thank you for your time.

We, as aboriginal people must push even stronger for what we believe in; such as our culture, our religion, the right to govern our own people in self-government. We the aboriginal people must all come together as one nation of aboriginal people in Canada.

We must not let the present government of Canada bring down what the aboriginal people fought for the last hundred years. We must not stop at any cost to be recognized as equal people to every race & have every right to govern our own people in self-government.

Just think about how far we came together with the white race; not very far since the newly elected government showed themselves thanks to our true brother, Richard Price. I refer to the paper Buffalo Jump 1980's by Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nelson on behalf of his government. The report shows us, the aboriginal people, how far we've come over the years, the mistrust, the discriminative report showed towards our people. It also showed us the lies since the aboriginal talks were held about 60 days before this report was linked to show what kind of people we are dealing with & how much honor they hold in their word to our people. Thanks to brother Richard Price we found out what the government was trying to do to our people before they did it, it could've brought our nation down if passed.

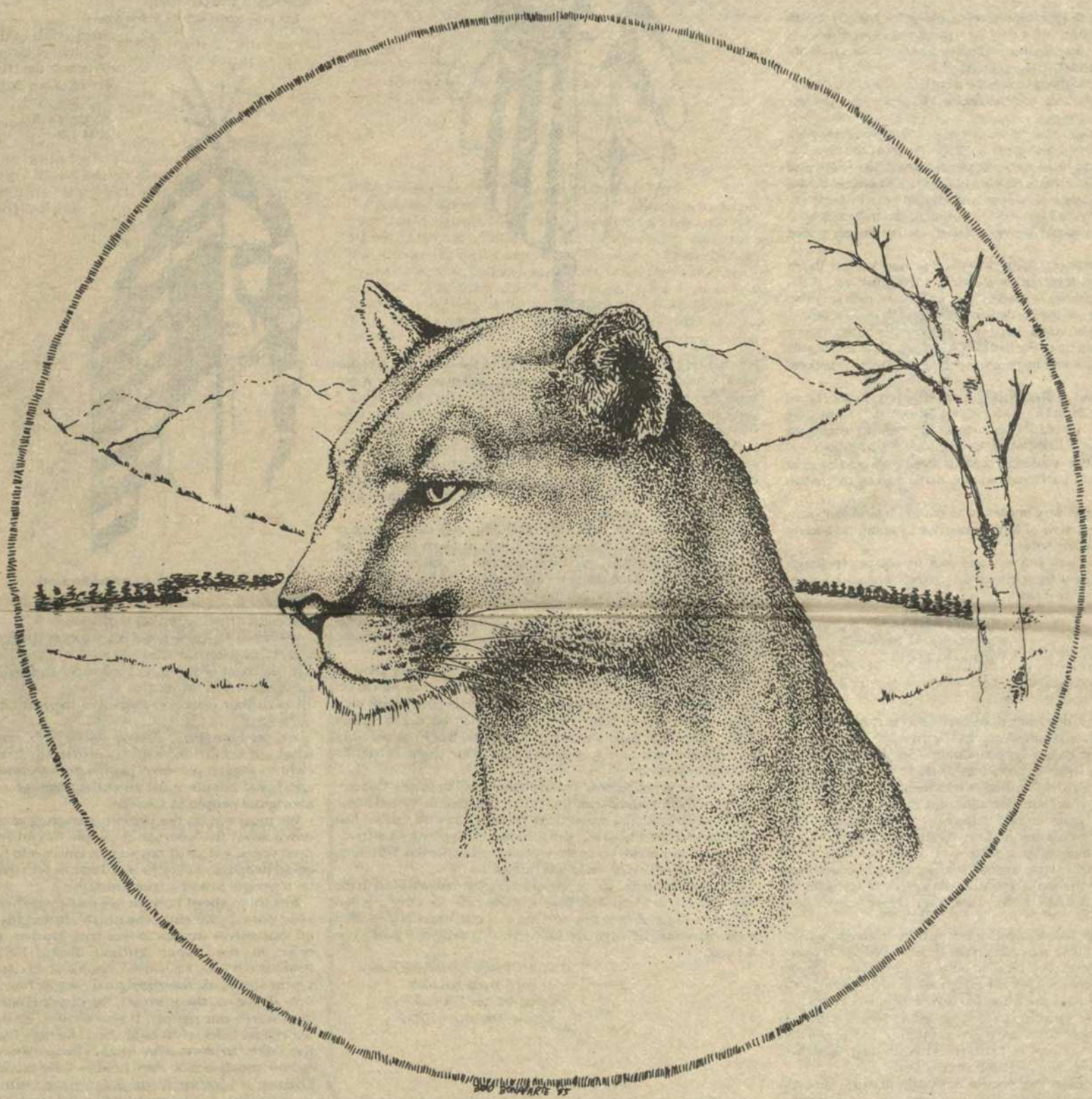
What must we think & believe about this government that governs the aboriginal peoples & lies to our face, people without honor? Must we stand for this mistreatment? The discrimination, the inconsiderate laws & rules they put on us & try to put on us, the mistrust, the lies! They charged our brother Richard Price for breach of trust, but I say hasn't the government or shouldn't the government be charged with breach of trust towards the aboriginal peoples of Canada. The day brother Richard Price goes to trial will be the day the Canadian government stands trial not our brother. We must as aboriginal people all join in as a giant brother & sisterhoods to fight for what we deserve to have & what is our right to have also to unite to support brothers or sisters such as Richard Price.

We must always stand tall & proud, never give up, for the aboriginal race was here first & we will never leave this land to any other race.

Thank you my brothers & sisters.

I remain
Larry Carlston
Culture Coordinator
Native Indian Brotherhood

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Poster F: MOUNTAIN LION by Brad Bonaparte, ©Akwesasne Notes 1985
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